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Education: *American or European?*

A comparison of our school systems

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A YOUNG French student recently arrived from Paris summed up her first impressions of American college life by saying: "In France we go to school only to study, but not to have fun. In America you try to make students happy, as well as to educate them. In France it is not up to the school, but to the family to provide the fun in a student's life."

The young lady had put her finger on the fundamental difference between European and American views on the purpose and function of education in society. Apart from technical and curricular differences, which will be discussed later, the most striking divergence between old and new-world education is the abandonment of the family's educational function by American teachers. The Socratic "I age all the time but still go on learning" has apparently become the motto of the majority of our educators and is being forced by them upon the American people who are constantly subjected to a barrage of propaganda. Time and again, we are told through all available media that the education of a future American citizen best begin long before his birth. Reluctantly, and almost grudgingly, the family is given at least the first few months of an infant's life. Even then, however, education must not be interrupted. The infant's habits, its conditioning, and a number of other things have to be watched, controlled, and shaped even during the first months. As the father of a brood of five, the author would be the last to deny the value of parental vigilance and training during the first year of a child's life. Yet what good is it to give worried parents complexes so that the child may have none?

As soon as possible the family must be weaned from the child and vice versa. Terms like "nursery-school" and "kindergarten," the last-named a misunderstood importation from Europe, indicate the successful evolution of our educational system. If these institutions were considered as devices to relieve harassed mothers, or if they were merely meant to serve children whose economic or social circumstances warrant special attention of this kind, no reasonable objection could be taken to them. The steadily shrinking size of our average family and of its living quarters indeed provides a strong supporting argument in favor of gathering the isolated products of a "typical" family from undersized apartments onto the ample bosom of pre-school institutions fostering supervised gregariousness. The result of this safety-valve answer to modern

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birth control and housing problems is the increasing exclusion of the family from the child's active life during his most formative years.

The price paid for carrying "public" education into a child's early years, from which even the brutal Spartans held back, is in many cases the curtailment of a sense of security within the child. Whether the early social integration of the young child into the group of his playmates is worth this price is, at least, open to doubt.

II

The prevailing European attitude concerning this matter is still "old-fashioned." Nursery-schools and kindergarten establishments for the most part exist, but only for the purpose of providing a "second-best" alternative to home in congested urban and industrial areas, where large numbers of low-income families lack space or time to satisfy a young child's minimum needs. The chief difference between the European and the prevailing American attitude on "pre-school" education is this: The majority of our professional pedagogues, or as we prefer to call them, "educators," consider the average child of an average family better off "in school" between the ages of 2 and 6. European society (outside Soviet Russia, of course) acknowledges the need for nursery-schools and the kindergarten, but only as a second-best substitute for family upbringing.

This basic divergence becomes steadily more manifest as time goes on. In this country, as in Europe, we still accept the Greek observation, aptly summarized in Plato's *Protagoras:* At the age of about six the child is ready to go to school. The quest for literacy can begin. Even at this point, however, continental Europe in more than one country shows an approach to the problem unlike that of our school systems both public and private.

First of all, European schools limit the child's presence in school to the minimum of hours; ours tend towards the maximum. European elementary schools devote themselves essentially to the teaching of the three "R's." It is up to the family to provide the main share of the social and cultural grooming of its young. The dearth of comic strips and the almost universal ban against children's attendance at run-of-the-mill motion pictures are mitigated only by an occasional "children's hour" on the radio. With European broadcasting almost entirely in the hands of the respective governments, however, the joys of soap-operas and crooning advertisers are as unknown to the European child as are the blood-curdling gangster and detective serials which glue our youngsters to the radio when they ought to be in bed.

During his first school years the European child, therefore, lacks our constant barrage of outside stimulants. The family is thrown back upon its own resources in providing entertainment at home. Story-telling and singing, two inexpensive and old-fashioned devices, go far towards answering this purpose. The playing of family-games, a vanishing pastime in this country, still fills many an afternoon and early winter evening on the other side of the Atlantic. As soon as a child can read, he is encouraged by children's books of often remarkably high artistic quality to explore the realm of entertainment and knowledge which his progress at school is opening up to him.

One of the favorite American social institutions, the "boy-friend" or the "girl-friend," respectively, is wholly excluded from the life of a European child. There is no taboo against friendship between boys and girls from 6 to 10, but to have a "boy-friend" or a "girl-friend" at this early stage is something no family would encourage or even stand for. Our frequently heard argument that it may be educationally advisable to have boys and girls as such (not merely as children who happen to belong to a different sex) get used to mutual emotional attachments at an early age is simply dismissed over there with the curt and old-fashioned statement: "There is plenty of time for that sort of thing later on." At the same time, co-education is also the rule in Europe, at least during the first years of a child's scholastic career. Boys and girls mingle in class and during recess periods as freely and easily as they do here.

The fundamental difference in the treatment of a European school child is this: Our children are treated as miniature adults, European children, as children. This not only comes out in matters like the boy-friend-girl-

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friend question, or the admission to motion picture theaters, but it also permeates the entire life at school and at home. The authority of the parents at home is complemented by that of the teacher at school. Discipline far more rigorous than that prevailing with our children is insisted upon by both. A number of flourishing democracies in countries like Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, or Switzerland demonstrate that such discipline is not incompatible with intelligent democratic citizenship when the child grows up.

III

In the curriculum there is naturally little difference on both sides of the Atlantic during the first years of a child's school life. Reading and writing, as well as a minimum of arithmetic have first to be mastered, irrespective of zone or climate. After the initial hurdles have been taken, however, a characteristic divergence develops. The European educational program becomes more flexible than ours, as soon as the child reaches the age of about ten. While an average of from 7 to 9 years' schooling is compulsory in practically every European country, the curricula show a radical departure from ours. The basic program for those whose intellectual and economic resources are unequal to the burdens of a prolonged and intensified program of studies is the one we prescribe for our children with deadly uniformity through the elementary and grammar school years. A European child taking this standard program for the full period of compulsory schooling is not expected to go on to higher academic levels. We, on the other hand, consider these eight years as the regular "democratic" foundation of our system of higher education. High school, college, and graduate or professional schools thereafter claim those desirous of climbing to the top of the educational pyramid. In all, a conservative estimate puts an American in school (not even counting nursery-school and kindergarten) for 11 or 12 years or more after completion of the regular eight grades of basic education.

In striking contrast to this prolonged, costly, and not wholly socially desirable process, the average European student of middle-class background can console himself (and those who foot his bills!) with the prospect of obtaining his doctor's degree, be it in law, medicine, or philosophy, at an average age of 22. Those intending to follow the profession of university-teaching, advanced medicine or science may take a few years longer to complete their doctoral theses, but this is the exception rather than the rule.

The "speed-up" system which enables a European student to complete his entire academic work by the time the average American student obtains his bachelor's degree has, of course, its price: rigorous limitation of the schools to "academic" work.

Although sports have more recently been given some place in the curricula of secondary schools on the continent, they definitely remain on the periphery of school life. A family which wants its children to practice sports has to provide the opportunities on its own initiative and from its own funds. Swimming and skating are the two most popular sports. Bicycling, both as a sport and as a means of cheap travel, is far more popular with the teen-agers in Europe than it is here.

IV

All in all, however, the continental schools have retained their traditional emphasis on teaching intensive study-methods, as well as subject-matter. Moreover, the secondary schools have been built upon an educational plan which would bring forth shouts of "undemocratic" from a number of our fellow-citizens. Only the intellectually and/or economically limited children are expected to complete the entire eight-year basic program before being admitted to higher institutions of learning. The normal procedure is to transfer at an age of about ten those students whose parents indicate their willingness to undertake the financial burdens resulting from a prolonged period of scholastic activity. These burdens consist primarily of maintenance costs (food, clothing, shelter). For the higher schools on the continent, in sharp contrast to those of England and the United States, are almost entirely public schools whose tuition fees (often including books) are exceedingly low. Some countries, among

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them Switzerland, offer several years of free schooling after completion of the basic eight-year program for those unwilling or unable to embark on the kind of work leading to the university. These secondary schools largely correspond to our high-schools, introducing their students of about 14-17 to foreign languages, mathematics, and vocational training for business or industrial careers.

Those children, however, who at the ripe old age of about ten transfer to secondary schools which groom them for eventual admission to the universities, enter upon a far more intensive training program than that applied on either of the other two levels. They start their first foreign language immediately, with a second, third, and sometimes an optional fourth one added in the course of the next 8 or 9 years. Depending on their, or better, their parents' inclination, several curricula are open to these students. The classical one with its focus on Greek, Latin, and literature offers a bare minimum of physics, chemistry, and mathematics in addition to history, geography, and biology. There is usually a middle-of-the-road curriculum open to those who prefer more modern languages and more science. Latin, however, is still included in the program. A third type of curriculum centers exclusively around science and modern languages.

The important difference between this kind of set-up and ours is twofold: For one thing, the curriculum is an integrated one covering about eight years in most continental countries. On the other hand, there is practically no choice of courses for the student within any of these main branches of higher education. A language, typing, shorthand, and a few other subjects may be elected, but they are purely optional and constitute merely an addition to, but no substitution for, the regular curriculum which is practically as rigid as that of our elementary and grammar schools. From this rigidity a spirit of closely-knit comradeship results. Everybody takes the same courses within the same curricular pattern for anywhere from 6 to 9 years. Since classes in normal times are held down to a reasonably small size, most young people develop firm and often very durable friendships during this period in which they share the daily school routine in class after class.

At the same time these secondary schools continue the traditional emphasis on academic work. Classes, except for some sports and occasional optional classes, are usually over by about two o'clock. In many parts of Europe this is considered a perfectly acceptable time for dinner. The teen-agers then take their main meal of the day and are free to arrange their afternoon as they see fit, provided they get their home-work done. The usual school week is six days. In addition to occasional national and religious holidays, vacations rarely reach the blissful length of our summer vacation. Perhaps two weeks over Christmas, a week or ten days over Easter, another week over Whitsuntide, about six weeks of summer vacation from the beginning of July through the middle of August, and a fall vacation time of about ten days are the most frequent vacation schedules. During vacation it is up to the family, as with us, to provide recreation and entertainment. Due to the relative shortness of the summer vacation and the strong hold of the family over its young, summer camps exist chiefly for under-privileged children. In recent years prior to World War II, youth movements like the Boy Scouts and less formally organized groups had begun to exert a certain influence, but they cannot be said to come near the importance which they reached in England and the United States.

V

The teaching personnel of the higher secondary schools is almost everywhere on the state civil service list. Tenure, reasonably good salaries, annuities after retirement, together with sickness benefits and other advantages attract in many cases, though certainly not always, scholarly minded individuals. A Ph. D. in many countries is the prerequisite for a permanent appointment to a post in the higher secondary schools. In general, the teaching profession on the continent enjoys a social standing in marked contrast to the "down-at-the-heels" rôle which is the lot of teachers in our midst. Academic degrees in Europe confer a measure of respect, exceed-

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ing in some countries—believe it or not—that accorded to successful businessmen.

During their teens, boys and girls attending higher secondary schools are usually taught separately, although in small towns and in some countries co-education is extended to this age level. Dancing classes, an occasional school dance, musical and theatrical performances arranged by the students' clubs form part of a continental teen-age student's life. Supervision, however, is far more rigid and "dating" is an unknown custom. Nature, of course, will have its way. Calf-love is a universal affliction, and an occasional *rendezvous,* without parental sanction or even knowledge, is about as much as etiquette will permit a middle-class student. Marriage is taken far more seriously, and few teen-age students in higher secondary schools would even remotely consider it. They expect to be married only when they can support a family. This attitude frequently leads to tragic complications. Suicides motivated by "hopeless" love affairs occur more often among continental teen-age students than they do in this country. Our dating, our cheap romance cult, and the strenuous and successful revelation of all physiological and emotional secrets have at least done that much good. Dangerous emotional tensions are far rarer among the extrovert products of our educational system than they are on the European continent in the same age group.

VI

When the higher secondary school has finally run its course, a comprehensive final examination, or rather a series of them awaits the 18-year-old students. Written and oral examinations ranging from one to more than five hours for each major subject lead, if passed successfully, to the coveted diploma which opens the gates of the university to anyone thus qualifying.

Again we face a totally different picture from that we are used to: Practically all continental universities, and certainly all those whose famous names ring familiar, are state universities. Moreover they usually have no dormitories connected with them. Most important of all differences, however, is that the European universities do nothing but prepare their students within three or more years for advanced degrees, usually the doctorate. Technically they are graduate schools only. Tuition fees are ridiculously low, usually no more than about fifty to seventy-five dollars per annum, except in certain medical and other laboratory courses. Not only is every qualified student from anywhere in the world freely admitted to these universities—the only limitations actually imposed being those of laboratory space and apparatus—but European universities also freely give credit for work done elsewhere. The only condition usually is that the last two semesters before the doctoral examination must be spent at the university where the degree is to be taken. European students are actually encouraged to sample a number of universities in their own country or abroad before choosing the university where they will take their degree. The relative lack of bureaucratic formality is perhaps one of the most pleasant aspects of European university life in comparison with our far more strictly regimented one. There are no blue-books and usually no course examinations. In the average course, attendance is purely voluntary. Only in seminars and laboratories does cutting lead to some trouble, but even that is of a more indirect nature than actual failing of a course would be in this country.

Vacations are plentiful. The actual academic work is normally confined to two periods ranging from the latter part of October to the end of February, and from the end of April to the middle of July. The two semesters are separated by vacation periods of about two and three months, respectively, plus half a month of Christmas vacation thrown in for good measure. The university confines itself almost exclusively to academic work. Sports for the most part have remained voluntary, and no campus prestige whatever accrues from being a tennis or skiing champion. Fencing is perhaps more *en vogue* than a number of other sports.

There is very little organized social life at most universities. Fraternities do exist, but are often mere outlets for political movements or snobbish cliques. On the whole, the European university does not concern itself with its students in any other way than that of

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teaching them. Not even employment of its successful candidates after they take their degree is facilitated in any way. The young men and women have to seek out their own professional opportunities. If they do not enter one of the various civil service branches, their business and professional start must be arranged and often financed by the long-suffering family.

Male students rarely marry while attending the universities. Even after obtaining their degree they usually await the time when they will be launched on their career with some success. Extra-marital relations, however, for both male and female university students seem to have become a rule rather than the exception. Women students being a small minority of the average continental university, the non-academic student's sweetheart has achieved a definite place in student life and in literature. To that extent, sentimental tear-jerkers like the *Student Prince* reflect actual conditions. Marriage between such couples is the exception rather than the rule, the chief obstacle being family objections to a young lady from a lower social level.

VII

When the finished product of higher education on the continent of Europe sets out to enter upon his life work, he is about twenty-two years old, perhaps a bit older. He has become acquainted with three or four languages other than his own; he possesses a certain amount of familiarity with the history, literature, and philosophy of countries other than his own and, in any case, a rudimentary knowledge of the sciences, and usually a good deal more than that. He has been trained in intensive working habits and is expected to be able to do his own research in his field hereafter without professorial guidance.

Socially and politically, on the other hand, he is chiefly what his family has been willing or able to make of him. His cultural and other interests have been almost exclusively developed (or stifled) by his family. It is, therefore, clear that he goes forth into life as a far more individualistic human being—for better or worse—than the average product of our own graduate schools. He has not been trained in most cases for the informal give-and-take which forms an essential part of human relations. On the other hand, he has been taught the value of personal initiative and non-dependence upon the judgment of others.

The almost complete schism between European educational institutions and the family-life seems to be one of the greatest disadvantages of the continental system. Its chief advantage compared to our own lies in the uncompromising emphasis upon intensive work. The continental system does achieve its academic goal years before our own institutions of higher learning. The absence of "college life" in all its aspects is the price paid for this concentration upon the intellectual aspects of education. Perhaps the ideal would be an adaptation of the selective European system, enabling us to launch the more gifted ten-year olds upon an intensive and integrated plan of studies to lead up to a B.A. perhaps at the age of 18 or 19. This would leave room for far more advanced work in all fields of learning than can now be afforded by the average student who leaves college anywhere between 20 and 22. It is not possible to begin such changes at the top, i.e. by the time the students of today enter college. Systematic and intensive training must begin at an earlier level to be effective.

Since it seems unlikely that the American family will resume its former place in the education of our young, we must continue our present integration of academic and extra-curricular life. Taking a leaf from the European scheme of higher education the American contribution to modern education may be able to score its greatest success: the development of an intelligent, reasonably well-adjusted, and mature democratic citizenry.

A New England headstone bears this inscription: "Sacred to the memory of Joseph H. Random. His widow mourns as one who can be comforted. Aged 24 and possessing every qualification for a good wife. Lives at Number 4 Church Street in this village."

Franklin W. Ball, *Printers' Ink*

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The first of two articles analyzing radio

WHY BROADCASTING HAS FAILED—I

By MAX KNEPPER
Author, Journalist

SOME DAY, when foreign tensions have eased a bit, when taxes and the cost of living are down, and when the public attains a sense of security against the atomic bomb, American broadcasting will become *an issue.*

The near-monopoly of air waves by soap operas, vulgar comedies, creaking-stair mysteries, and long, raucous, haranguing commercials is nothing new either to the critical or those with merely sensitive eardrums. Many listeners, however, are unaware that broadcasting is amenable to reform—by government fiat, if necessary. They fail to realize that the kilocycles on which stations broadcast are not the private preserves of those lucky few who got there first but the property of the United States. Their use is licensed only temporarily by the Federal Communications Commission (at present for three-year periods to standard broadcasters and annually to F.M.) on condition that licensees serve the public "interest, convenience, or necessity."

From reports of the Commission as well as the conclusions of many commentators, professional critics, and private observers, it appears that only a few of our approximately thirteen hundred broadcast stations place the public interest above purely commercial considerations. Defining "public interest" with reasonable literality, it can be stated that less than 100 stations in the United States are qualified on that basis to retain their licenses. The others are simply using a great public communications medium for quick and often disreputable profits. They betray the public interest in at least four respects:

(1) Failure to broadcast material which is culturally stimulating or educationally beneficial.

(2) Failure to restrict advertising—particularly spot announcements—to decent intervals, reasonable lengths, and moderate delivery.

(3) Failure to provide an outlet for live talent, particularly in local areas.

(4) Failure to donate a reasonable amount of time to religious, civic, and educational programs which by their nature should not be commercially sponsored even if sponsors could be obtained.

Among the 24 stations in Greater New York, only four—WMCA, WNEW, WNYC, WQXR—can qualify unreservedly as public-interest stations, with perhaps half a dozen more in the category of fair. Not one of the 14 stations in the Los Angeles metropolitan area nearly approaches WNYC, New York's best, in terms of public service. In fact, only KFAC, an independent local station, can qualify as fairly good, and to achieve this rating one must overlook the station's practice of broadcasting ear-splitting spot announcements on a three-minute average during afternoon hours.

The San Francisco-Oakland area lacks even one station which regularly broadcasts good

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music or other superior programs on a daily sustaining basis. The network outlets in either western metropolis do offer some excellent sponsored broadcasts, but few of their sustaining public service programs are carried except sporadically, when the time has not been sold to local advertisers. It is remarkable that in a city of San Francisco's cultural pretensions at least one radio station does not cater to that portion of the radio audience which enjoys classical or semi-classical music, book reviews, debate on public questions, reports on the latest scientific or medical achievements, United Nations proceedings or broadcasts of a similar nature.

The situation in rural sections throughout the country is even blacker. In some areas, for instance, there are only two or three stations available to inexpensive receiving sets, of which both or all broadcast principally sponsored network programs consisting of soap operas, thrillers, and comic programs, although this is in violation of the F.C.C.'s policy on balanced programs.

The difficulty in raising program levels lies in the fact that at present two basically opposed forces govern broadcasting. On the one hand is the law, which recognizes the public interest responsibility of radio. On the other hand is the commercial support of broadcasting, derived from advertising. Up to now, the latter has dominated.

The music editor of the *Los Angeles Daily News* is responsible for the statement that statistics exist proving that in 1946 more people paid admission to concerts than to baseball games, America's most popular sport. Both have a place on radio, but neither in proportion to its popularity. Of the two, good music suffers from omission more than baseball.

To understand why, one must understand something about the broadcasting business, which is a get-rich-quick-stay-rich-easy business. The investment in a radio station—at least compared with the capital required for even a small daily newspaper—is astonishingly low. The chief asset, the broadcast frequency or channel, is lent gratis by the government. The principal capital expenditure to the broadcaster is the erection of his transmitter. Operating costs are kept ridiculously low for almost all non-network stations by the use of records and transcriptions instead of live talent.

Typical was the case of the Los Angeles entrepreneur who bought a 250-watt station for only $45,000. His staff consisted of a secretary-bookkeeper, a stenographer, three announcers, three engineers, and a flock of salesmen, the latter all on commission. Within three years he had recovered his capital investment, besides having paid himself and his son $100 a week as managers.

KFAC, Los Angeles' so-called "music station," charges $10 for a one-minute spot ad. Fifteen minutes cost $50. On KNX, the local C.B.S. outlet, the charge for 25 words after 6 P.M. is $105. One of the smallest stations in terms of broadcast power gets $6.00 per minute, the minimum in Los Angeles.

The non-network stations have only one concern—to operate as economically as possible and to sell the maximum spot announcements. Some such stations sell as many as 175 per day. Since popular records are the cheapest of all entertainment, the indifferent or unscrupulous broadcaster merely lays in a supply, hires the minimum operating staff, and opens shop. His contribution to the public welfare required by law in exchange for his license is an occasional news broadcast.

SOAP OPERAS

Generally speaking the networks are considerably more public service conscious than local stations, but they are far from philanthropic. It is the networks which are responsible for that institution known as the soap opera (network executives prefer to call them "serialized dramatic programs"), specimens of which can be heard hourly Monday through Friday before 6 P.M. One week's sampling in 1940 indicated that 55 of the 59½ hours monitored were devoted to "serialized dramatics." Five years later there was no improvement!

Is this desecration of Marconi's invention the result of public pressure, reluctantly acceded to by public-spirited broadcasters? Hardly. The pressure derives not from audiences but from that root of all evil, sponsors' money. Procter & Gamble, for instance, spent $22,000,000 on radio adver-

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tising in 1944. This and similar accounts dictate the form of radio entertainment. The reason for the popularity of soap operas—radio's equivalent of *True Stories*—with advertisers is their cheap production costs. "Ma Perkins," to cite a case, can be broadcast Monday through Friday more cheaply than some one-minute transcribed spot announcements.

The hackneyed excuse that "we're only giving the public what it wants" is employed by every purveyor of diversion, including narcotics, gambling, and white slavery. But apart from questions of responsibility for maintaining, if not raising, the public level of culture, there is serious question whether the advertisers who control radio really know what the public wants. Certainly the amount of soap opera broadcast is disproportionate to the amount of interest as indicated by Hooper ratings. The highest Hooper rating for an N.B.C. soap opera (1946) was 8.9 and that of C.B.S. 7.7, not sensationally higher than such selective broadcasts as the New York Philharmonic and the Metropolitan Opera. Top Hooper rating for the Philharmonic last season was 5.0 and for the Metropolitan 4.9. The majority of C.B.S. soap skits rated below these two cultural programs. It is unfortunate that radio advertisers, like many Hollywood moguls, persistently underrate the cultural level of the public.

It is only just to point out that network managements, particularly N.B.C. and C.B.S., do offer some very worthwhile public-service sustaining programs. N.B.C. Vice-President Sidney Strotz directed my attention to 18 unsponsored programs of superlative value regularly broadcast over his network, which he cites as positive evidence of N.B.C.'s recognition of its public welfare responsibility. The joker is in the network's inability to compel its affiliates to use such programs. Unless the broadcast is sponsored, the affiliated stations can substitute local, paid programs, and far too many do.

Mr. Strotz states: "We have four important religious programs, 'The National Radio Pulpit' for Protestants; 'The Eternal Light' for the Jewish religion; 'The Catholic Hour', and 'Religion In The News.'" But he does not state how many N.B.C. affiliates broadcast these programs. In September, for instance, none was carried on KFI, the Los Angeles N.B.C. affiliate. Of the eight outstanding programs on public affairs regularly broadcast by N.B.C., only one was heard on KFI that month.

Station WLW on Sunday, June 3, 1945, carried only 45 minutes of sustaining programs from 1 P.M. to 11 P.M. During that same week, Monday through Friday, it carried no sustaining broadcasts whatever from 1 to 6 and only a weekly total of 75 minutes from 6 to 11. On Monday, April 24, 1944, 25 N.B.C. affiliated stations carried no sustaining programs at all, and these 25 included some of the most powerful eastern stations.

ADVERTISING

Typical of substitutions is the case of WCAU, which offered in place of C.B.S. "Trans-Atlantic Call," a program called "Ranger Joe," sponsored by a loan company. In place of "Pan-America" this station substituted phonograph records interspersed with paid movie ads. Refusing "Service Time," a dramatic C.B.S. presentation of the activities of the armed forces, a program then calculated to interest all families with members in the armed services, WCAU broadcast instead popular records sponsored by a loan shark. The same station turned down the Columbia Concert Orchestra to afford time for records sponsored by Groves Laxative Bromo Quinine. While WCAU did broadcast the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, which was sponsored, it refused time for the sustaining introductory talk of Olin Downes. That five minutes was sold to Yellow Cab.

If average radio entertainment is bad, radio advertising is worse. The Committee on Consumer Relations in Advertising recently reported that almost 75 per cent of persons polled declared that radio advertising is inferior to any other type. Apparently even station owners are becoming aware of public resentment against both the volume and blatancy of broadcast ads, for at its most recent convention the National Association of Broadcasters adopted a resolution proposing limitations on commercial announcements.

Laudable as that action was, its efficacy must be questioned. The smaller stations which are

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the greatest sinners in this regard are protesting change on the dialectical ground that any such limitation will impinge on profits. The agency which ought to police radio advertising is the F.C.C., which can insist rather than advise or beg.

A recent afternoon audition of KFAC disclosed seven one-minute transcribed announcements within 19 minutes. One of these was introduced by a shotgun explosion, a coy effect employed to emphasize the double-barrel bargain then in vogue at Central Chevrolet. Other raucous announcements with weird and unpleasant sound effects advertising used car dealers, credit dentists, and bankrupt clothing liquidators occupied about a third of the time monitored.

Apparently both radio managements and advertisers believe that the more irritating their commercials the greater the response. Otherwise, some consideration might be extended to the listener's eardrums, if not his intelligence. In the natural course of competition, commercials are becoming increasingly louder and longer.

The third fault of radio as an entertainment medium is its failure to use live talent. Excepting the network shows, most stations employ records or transcriptions for the simple reason that they are cheap. But the result of this method is to deny the public the variety and freshness of entertainment to which it is entitled. To avoid captiousness, it is best to sidestep the question whether a medium capable of reaching so many human beings has an obligation to develop and employ the maximum artists. However, most broadcasters infer such an obligation, as evidenced in their license application statements which invariably set forth their desire to afford time to the talent always said to abound luxuriantly in their particular communities.

The situation as regards use of live talent is effectively described in various F.C.C. reports, one of which establishes the following facts: "For every three writers employed by 834 broadcast stations in October, 1944, there were four salesmen employed. For every dollar paid to the average writer, the average salesman was paid $2.39. And in terms of total compensation paid to writers and salesmen, the stations paid $3.30 for salesmen for every $1.00 paid for writers.

"The average local station employed less than one-third of a full time musician and less than one-sixth of a full time actor.

"Such figures suggest, particularly at the local station level, that few stations are staffed adequately to meet their responsibilities in serving the community. A positive responsibility rests upon local stations to make articulate the voice of the community."

And, significantly, the F.C.C. flatly declares: "Many or most stations are financially able to employ far larger program staffs than at present." As far as Los Angeles is concerned, the word would be "most". Of the city's nine local stations, none employs a single artist on its staff.

The fourth major sin of radio is failure of most broadcasters to donate a reasonable amount of time to religious, civic, and educational organizations and to speakers on vital public issues. For obvious reasons programs of this kind should not be commercially sponsored.

Most radio stations confine their public service efforts to a few free spot announcements for the Red Cross, Community Chest, civil service examinations, and the news.

Virtually all religious programs heard on Los Angeles stations are sponsored, which means that the few large or rich congregations can put their ministers on the air, while the many small churches or less influential faiths are denied even an occasional broadcast.

In controversial political matters the side with the lush campaign funds is the only side to be heard on the radio, since purchase of time is, as previously pointed out, an expensive luxury. But the side with the largest campaign fund is not always the side concerned with the public welfare. Inasmuch as radio stations, unlike newspapers, do not take editorial positions on public issues, their greatest contribution would be to afford equal time on a sustaining basis to representatives of all factions in a political controversy. Until they are forced by law, however, it is doubtful whether they will ever regard their public service responsibilities in such an extensive or idealistic light.

[*Mr. Knepper outlines practical remedies in his concluding article next month*]

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Beyond Neighborhood

By
Robert
Francis

IN the time that it takes to make out a check and mail it, anybody today who is not himself destitute can save a human being from sharp hunger (say in Europe) or from outright starvation (say in China). With this power goes responsibility. How great is that responsibility? How does it compare with one's responsibility to feed a very hungry person on one's own street? Or to save, or try to save, someone from fire or drowning under one's very eyes?

Though these questions face us daily, I have never come across a discussion—much less a solution—of the central problem: the factor of distance. To see that factor clearly let us look at three situations.

(a) An American community in which there are normally enough people with enough money to take care of all community needs. If there is a community chest operating on a budget, any citizen can figure out roughly his fair yearly individual quota. That quota will probably be so small a proportion of his income that it will cause him little or no sacrifice.

(b) The same community at a time of disaster to a small fraction of its members. For instance, one family burned out of home. The last thing that neighbors will think of is any sort of quota. They will supply basic needs until those needs are met, even though it might mean cutting down their own basic consumption. If the disaster overwhelms such a large part of the community that help is needed from outside, neighboring communities will recognize their own responsibility.

(c) The same community as in (a) but at a time when large distant areas of the world are destitute. Should members of such a community look upon the far-off need as comfortably as they look upon their own needs in situation (a)? Or as drastically as they look upon their local needs in situation (b)? Or should they adopt an intermediate course? What does the enlightened conscience of mankind say? What are the ethical principles involved? This is the problem of the present essay. It is a problem not so much of how to meet a need as of how first to think about it.

One reason that the problem is so perplexing is that it is relatively new. Highly organized relief in distant parts of the world became common after the First World War. Before that time people in America might know of a famine in India or China, but there wasn't much they could do about it. Without modern transportation, food and medicine, even if available, could not reach the stricken area in time. And before the possibility of communication by telegraph, airplane, and radio, the outer world might not even hear of a disaster until it was too late. Except for foreign missions, which concerned church people chiefly, and which sometimes emphasized the saving of souls rather than the saving of lives, situations (a) and (b) pretty much circumscribed a man's humanitarian responsibilities. He might fail to do his neighborly duty, but he could hardly fail to see it. The need for help and the power to meet that need were equally clear. The virtue of neighborliness, indeed, since time immemorial has been so deeply rooted that it has often not been a conscious duty.

Today we are confronted with a disjointed situation. Knowing, seeing, feeling, and acting (including the opportunity to follow up one's action), all of which are fused into one effective impulse in situations (a) and (b), are separate and out of balance in situation (c). We *know* that millions of people are hungry and starving, but we do not *see* them. At best we half-see them in newspaper illustrations or in the moving pictures. Not seeing them directly, we only half-feel the situation. Yet

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the opportunity to act is unobstructed: we have only to make out a check and mail it. As for following up our action, observing results, and helping to guide them—this is something we hardly have at all.

But even if knowing, seeing, feeling, and acting could miraculously be re-integrated for us so that we moved as whole-heartedly in distant emergencies as in local ones, there still would be a staggering problem. For unless many millions of people felt and acted together, the need would always outrun our maximum effort. No matter how large our checks and how many lives we helped to save, we could never hope to save them all. Modern war sees to it that we can't. In even the worst river-flood in China, the whole country is never under water. But after the flood of a world war there isn't any dry land left over whole continents. If the fortunate people on our side of the earth took disaster on the other side of the earth as keenly to heart as they would their own, would they not give and give until they themselves had nothing left but a roof, a single coat, and a bag of potatoes?

When the plea is made: "Would you let a child perish for lack of food in your own town?"; the answer is: "Of course not." But the point is that the child is *not* in our town, is not within thousands of miles of our town. And it is not a question of a single child but of children by the million. The problem, the ethical problem, is not whether we should give but how much we should give.

Suppose a qualified organization has made a survey of world needs, all degrees of need, children who do not have enough books as well as children who do not have half enough food. Suppose that you or I, having set aside a certain proportion of our income, attempted to allocate that amount in the most humane way possible. Would it all go to the areas of greatest destitution, or would some of it go to areas of lesser destitution but nearer home? How much would go toward saving a few of a million families in China or Europe on the verge of death, how much toward relieving some of a thousand needy but not starving families in one of our own less prosperous areas, and how much toward helping a poor but not undernourished boy on my own street to get a better education?

I can picture someone trying to work out such a benevolent distribution, and then suddenly finding the whole calculation absurd. A tenth or a twentieth of his income might seem a reasonable proportion for local charities, but in the face of continent-wide destitution any fixed quota looks ridiculous.

But already the reader may be impatient with me for following an individualistic approach to a problem that obviously can have no solution except by governments, and not even by separate governments but by world government. Just as Plato could not define justice except in terms of a just state, so we cannot satisfactorily define an individual's responsibility to his fellow men except in terms of a humanely organized world. Yet until the world is humanely organized and that organization is able and willing to cope with the whole problem, the individual must carry a large measure of responsibility. The certainty that his efforts will be vastly inadequate, and his ethical perplexity as to how far to go, do not relieve him of the duty to think and to act.

The Marshall Plan will do for Europe what even the most successful private charity could not do. Its purpose, of course, is to rehabilitate and not merely to relieve. Its result, we hope, will be to cut down the need for future relief. But no one supposes that the Marshall Plan will make it unnecessary for individual Americans to go on helping individual Europeans. If the Marshall Plan were to make private charity unnecessary, it would have to have started sooner, to continue longer, to be universally distributed, and to be very much greater in amount. As everyone knows, the Marshall Plan is not primarily humanitarian, but political and strategic.

Even less adequate at present to meet world-wide destitution is the United Nations which is no richer than its individual members, and which, worse than its members, is so deeply divided by rivalries and fears that it sometimes cannot act at all. Without these rivalries and fears, the United Nations would still lack power to make fundamental changes in the distribution of food and raw materials. Only when a world organization has power to allocate scarce basic goods can the problem of justice really be solved and the problem of distance be eliminated.

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In order to allocate equitably, a world organization would need to achieve two other goals. Far off and perhaps visionary as all three now seem, they belong together and would have to come together if they come at all. I mean (1) the abolition of war, in practice as well as in principle, and of the fear of war; and (2) some sort of international understanding to regulate populations. More scientific food production, especially in areas now backward, would take care of the present population and considerable future increases. But any country whose population continuously presses against its food supply, ready to increase rapidly the moment food is abundant, and checked only by a fluctuating but high death rate—such a country merely perpetuates its predicament.

If, thanks to the abolition of war and the consequent lessening of famine and plague, the death rate in such a country fell sharply, the population, unless checked in some other way, would expand phenomenally. Could a country, unable over long periods to feed itself by agriculture or trade, expect other countries to make up its deficit permanently? Or could a country now self-supporting ever reasonably expect a world organization to allocate to it more and more just because it was disposed to grow at a faster rate than its neighbors?

Even the most hopeful of us may be sure that it will be a long time before an organized world will be able to correct even the crudest inequalities among nations, and that for a long time individuals will have to go on struggling with the problems of personal responsibility complicated by distance. I do not know whether sound principles can be worked out to guide us during this long transition period, but I suggest that for the time being we might do well to submit to the psychology of distance at the same time that we try to transcend it. We might concentrate on the two extremes, the nearest and the farthest, in order to emphasize the whole range. The nearest need is our oldest and will always be our most strongly felt obligation, and the nearest can usually be dealt with most efficiently. The farthest need, at least for us in America, is now the most desperate, and the farthest comes ever nearer home.

Yet, if we spend too much thought on the ethical perplexities of giving, we may lose the impulse to give. The sort of analysis we have been trying to make in this essay needs to be balanced by a respect for impluse and for the frank satisfaction of impulse. Are not the most generous and imaginative givers those who enjoy their giving most? If our giving were only by impersonal checks that lost their identity in large funds for people distant from us in race and language as well as in space, we should miss one of the richest pleasures in life. But if our giving were exclusively to people we could see and talk with, we should miss another though rarer pleasure: the pleasure of challenging the tyranny of distance and of prodding the present into becoming the future.

The best story about Winston Churchill concerns his ex-son-in-law, Victor Oliver, the famous stage comedian.

Oliver is now divorced from Churchill's daughter, but shortly before the divorce he called at No. 10 Downing Street to see if the statesman couldn't help patch up the marriage. While dining with his father-in-law and various other notables, Oliver popped a question calculated, he thought, to warm the soul of the then Prime Minister.

"Sir," he asked, leaning across the table and looking sweetly at his father-in-law, "who, in your opinion, will emerge as the greatest leader of this war?"

Before anyone could come back with the expected answer that Churchill himself was the greatest war leader, his glowering father-in-law shot back: "Mussolini!"

"Mussolini?" countered the puzzled Mr. Oliver.

"Because," replied Churchill, "he at least had the good sense to shoot his son-in-law."

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Our farms are becoming bigger

DANGER: LAND MONOPOLY!

By DAVID L. GRAHAM

WITH the passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in 1890, Congress went on record as being opposed to business monopolies; recent condemnation of labor monopolies culminated in the Taft-Hartley Act. Concentration of power is now spreading to a part of our national economy where most Americans would least expect to find it—the land. Latest census data reveals that the concentration of farm land, like the concentration of industry, has been proceeding at a brisk, purposeful pace.

As with industry, war accentuated the trend toward bigness, and unless reversed by unforeseen forces, this trend may well liquidate the traditional American farmer. The new agricultural giants are swallowing the traditional farmer just as large corporations are gobbling up the independent businessman. No wonder during recent years Agriculture has been able to stand toe to toe with Big Business and slug it out for Congressional favors. Agriculture *is* big business.

Farms are bigger and fewer and productivity is at least better. Forty per cent of all farm land now falls into units of more than 1,000 acres; 25 years ago such holdings embraced but a quarter of the land, and today the average American farm is 50 acres larger. Yet we have 600,000 less farms than we had in 1920—despite the addition of 186 million acres to the total area in farms. So the record gross income of 23.9 billion dollars which farmers received during 1946 (1947 will probably go a third higher) represents by no means the dispersal of cash or potential consumer buying power that one might assume. For 80 per cent of the total production during 1944, the last year fully reported, was achieved by only a *third* of the farms, and *half* the nation's farms weren't grossing $1,500 worth of products a year.

The number of farms in the "very small" category (under ten acres) has increased by about 300,000 since the first World War—90,000 of them since 1940. In some cases the giant farms haven't swallowed the family-size farm, they have merely whittled it down. At present these small holdings account for ten per cent of all farms, compared with five per cent 25 years ago.

High prices, the housing shortage, and the menace of more wars and depressions may be enticing a lot of people into subsistence and part-time farming; but the traditional or family-size farm is fading from the American scene. The number of farms from 10 to 500 acres in size, which includes the old 160-acre homestead unit, is dwindling steadily; in 1920 these middle-size holdings comprised two-thirds of all farm land; today, only half. During the war, farms in the 100—180-acre category were particularly vulnerable, 110,000 of them disappearing.

The trend toward large farms makes for more economical operation and, therefore, seems inevitable. Like industry, the farm has achieved greater efficiency and lower production costs by resorting to more and better machinery. The secret of the astonishing agricultural output during the war, averaging 122 per cent of the pre-war years, was chiefly mechanization. In 1920 there were only 250,000 tractors on American farms; today there are more than two million; by 1950 there should be three million.

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This recourse to mechanical power and the equipment that goes with it, including pick-up hay balers and mechanical cotton pickers requires capital; and herein, of course, lies the big farm's main advantage. For not only is the big farmer presumably better able to obtain the necessary money, but his broad acres are better suited for the economical use of machinery. Depreciation is time's inexorable tax on machinery; nothing neutralizes depreciation like maximum use. On a large farm, machinery is more likely to wear out than to rust out; on a small farm, the contrary is true. The larger acreages can best absorb these steadily increasing capital outlays.

The demand for farm products is expected to level off during the next year. A 95 million bushel potato surplus in 1946, costing the government about 80 million dollars in price support, has shown the way[1]. Yet even a sharp decline across the board in demand and prices for farm products would not reverse the trend toward mechanization but would certainly step it up. The keener the competition for the market, the greater the need for efficient operation and machinery.

A former official of the Farm Security Administration has estimated, that by 1955, 2½ million additional farmers and farm workers will have left the land. This expert insists that three-fifths of all farms today are too small to support their farm families satisfactorily. The Department of Agriculture predicts that, largely by means of increased mechanization, crop production per acre will be a third greater in 1950 than it was for the 1935-39 average and that the gross production per farm worker will be 147 per cent of the 1935-39 average.

The inflated farm real estate market of the past year, whose frenzy has been viewed with misgivings by everybody from the President down, has continued driving the middle-size farms into the arms of the giants. In general our traditional family-size farm is too large for the part-time farmer and too small to use mechanical power effectively—industry produces four or five times as much value per man-hour of labor. Yet the banding together of these family-size farms into cooperative management associations has made but little headway.

Ironically enough, the various measures inaugurated during the 1930's to rescue the depression farmer (whose income collapsed even more disastrously than that of his urban brother) have worked to the advantage of the big farmer and left the isolated family farmer as he was. Government payments are largely based on sales volume and acreage, and about 80 per cent of them have gone to the top third (by income) of farmers. During 1944, for instance, the bottom half of the nation's farmers, who presumably needed help the most—since even in that boom year they weren't producing $1,500 worth of commodities each—received $40 or less apiece of government payments. The A.A.A. benefit payments, parity price payments, soil depleting crop payments, and other federal benefits did nothing to retard the trend toward bigness in agriculture but, on the contrary, accelerated it.

Any discussion of farm price support naturally leads to the question of what to do with the farmer. The editors of *Life* seem to favor liquidating some 3,800 million farmers and their families or reducing them to peasantry, leaving only the big commercial farms to wrestle with the land and fill the nation's lunchbox. What liberties these comparatively few, well-organized producers might then take with the price of food seems not to have troubled *Life's* editors. Cheap production is one factor in determining prices; but when a few producers begin to dominate the field, price agreements have a way of creeping in. And price agreements mean high prices.

Our age-old surplus of farmers has perpetuated, except for short intervals, the low *wholesale* cost of food in America—and, incidentally, maintained about half the nation's farmers in a state bordering on destitution. Two-thirds of the nation's farmhouses, it has been estimated, are unfit for human habitation; one-third of them are beyond repair. Yet even at present employment peaks, there is little room for surplus farmers in the cities. As increasing farm productivity makes more and more of them unemployable in agriculture, the probability is that industry, too, will be

1 For a Congressional discussion of the potato surplus, see FORUM, December, 1946, pp. 540-549. For a debate on food subsidies, see the December, 1947, issue, pp. 350-359.

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less able than now to absorb them. For their own sakes, therefore, as well as for the general health and stability of the country, some means must be found for keeping a large part of our farmers on the land—but not at the present subsistence levels, not in slum conditions. As late as 1940, for example, 89 per cent of all farmhouses had no bathtub or toilet, and 7 per cent not even an outside privy.

FARM ORGANIZATIONS

Considering the mood of the present Congress, the government can scarcely be looked to for action; besides, experience shows that government aid usually winds up by benefiting most those who need it least. The secret of the family farmer's rehabilitation seems to be suggested by his most lamentable weakness—his isolation. For while his physical isolation has been diminishing to almost nothing, his economic isolation has grown. Everybody else in society has been getting effectively organized, while the farmer continues to keep company with such noncommittal movements as the Farm Bureau and the Grange.

Compared with the organizations he is pitted against in the market place, the organizations of the average farmer are anemic and toothless. When he buys, he faces trusts, corporations, and trade associations with millions behind them; when he sells, he has to deal with commission merchants, packing houses, and chain stores nearly as formidable. Meanwhile, the industrial worker has his union and the professional man his professional association.

What the average farmer obviously needs is a militant organization of his own. To battle successfully with the giants, he himself will have to become a giant. It will be difficult; it may be impossible—in which case, the average farmer will disappear. But if the wage slave could organize, surely the farmer can, too. Cooperatives, unions, or federations—let him call them what he will—they must be genuinely his and strong.

If he were well organized, the average farmer could buy at wholesale and sell at retail, instead of vice versa, as is the case now. Organized, he could demand of Congress legislative protection from combines and monopolies. He would have the use of the expensive new machinery and scientific techniques which insure low production costs. He could, in short, claim a place at the table of American prosperity—that table at which no segment of society ever seats itself without a bold and intelligent fight.

Some farm experts recommend an annual minimum wage for farmers, guaranteed by the government; others would maintain existing farm populations by steering a considerable percentage of them out of agriculture and into the professions and the service trades, thus raising country living standards simultaneously. But the fundamental problem, certainly, is to prevent too many of our people from becoming landless wanderers. That state is healthiest, regardless of its size, in which the greatest proportion of the people have a tangible stake. For land-hunger has been the greatest breeder of revolution and chaos in history.

If modern history teaches nothing else, it shows that when the land of a country falls under the control of a few people, that country is headed for internal chaos. Mexico under Diaz, Czarist Russia, modern Spain—in each instance, a major cause of the country's social and political crisis was the scarcity of land, frozen in large holdings.

America, of course, is far from any such extremity. Land is no longer the great source of wealth and power with us that it once was. Nevertheless, it has been the best land which has shown the greatest tendency to concentrate, and this concentration of our national resources is no healthier than any other monopoly. The warning is clear. For if the trend flourishes, the day could come when many millions of Americans would find themselves without jobs, land, or hope; and only the deadliest weapon in the hands of our enemies, the A-Bomb itself, would be more ominous.

Sign in Minneapolis butcher shop: "For the convenience of my customers, I have made arrangements with a finance company to take radios, refrigerators, cars, and pianos as down payment on a pound of meat."

Minneapolis Tribune

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Our Guests

We are not the only ones in our house,
We must remember the others and be kind
To the small ones that shelter under our roof
And eat the crumbs we drop, the seeds, the rind.
No deed, no wood or plaster can shut out
Creatures that go on toes silky and wild,
There is no law in bronze that can maintain
The sole heir to our house shall be a child.

Our house is large, there are the dwelling places
Too high, too deep and dark for us to keep,
Small love and quiet feasting will go on
After the masters are possessed by sleep;
When we who live by lights and fires go
To our cool dreams which have not any words,
Then our cooled chimney, roofed with gentle stars,
Fills with the wings and winsomeness of birds.

When our doors are closed, below our stoop,
Under the granite stone, a door of earth
Opens, and below our cellar floor
The woodchuck's halls and rooms quiver with mirth;
Hairy faces touch in shrewd embrace,
There is the tender language of soft paws;
The slim skunk prowls our shed. These are good guests,
They have their hour; they keep the starry laws.

—ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN

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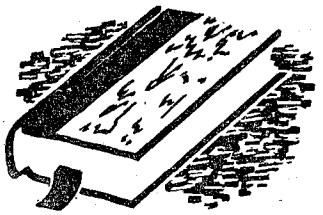

JASPER R. LEWIS

Books in brief

If the reader of *The Cold War,* A Study in United States Foreign Policy, by Walter Lippmann, (Harper's, $1.00), decides to expend all his resources in one staggering "bust," who can blame him? For Lippmann has set a series of firecrackers under the Truman Doctrine and the several schools of thought on how to reach a peace in Europe. In particular, it is a blast at the article, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," written, it is believed, by an official of our State Department.

Lippmann condemns our policy of containment of Russia and the hope of her eventual mellowing as wishful thinking. His theory is simple: to get peace in Europe it is necessary to head off Russia's encroachments. Since peace in Europe would mean practically universal peace, there is no question of its importance. While we stumble in incompetent diplomacy, however, the Red Army is in the center of Europe, and where the Red Army is, there is the advance guard of communism. Here Lippmann makes a point usually overlooked; it is not communism that is moving Russia; it is her old imperialism and lust for power, by chance now dominated by Marxian disciples.

The way to stop Russia, and it is definitely Russia that has to be stopped, is to arrive at a peace treaty by which all of the occupation armies, of all nations, will be withdrawn from Germany and other defeated countries. Once that is achieved, one of two things must happen. Russia will withdraw her forces, and that will remove the pressure on the small nations so that they can be self-determining in their choice of government. If she does that, her power in Europe will wane. If she does not withdraw, as she probably won't, at least the issue will be clear. Another result would be the political leaning of the smaller nations toward the West, since there they would find sympathy against the unwanted usurper. That would mean, at least, a moral cordon against the Soviet.

The worst move would be a separate peace, without Russian participation. That would entail a sovereign German government, with power to make treaties with Russia, and under present conditions the result is fairly certain. Lippmann likes the Marshall Plan, particularly its demand for serious studies abroad, and the fact that it would liquidate the Truman Doctrine. He also prefers to know, and have all other nations know, just where Russia stands. Anyone who can read will know where Lippmann stands, and many will stand with him.

* * *

Seen through the eyes of Ernest Erich Noth, the master key to world peace is a permanently fangless Germany. *Bridges Over the Rhine,* (Holt, $3.00), is his passionate plea for the future security of France. There he lived after his forced exit from Germany, and the larger part of his book is addressed to Frenchmen, and devoted to a denunciation of Prussian and Hitler Germany, in particular the Herren or master caste.

His argument is that while Germany must be given opportunity for rebirth, that is secondary. The vital point is making safe the borders and the future of France, which he calls the foremost and greatest European state. The threat of communism, while not to be

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ignored, is of less importance; in fact, Franco's Spain is a greater menace. Noth's exhortation for a renascence of French importance becomes a little hysterical. He is for a Mediterranean or Latin Union, but he knows it is impossible because of Spain. Great Britain, the United States, and Russia are concerned with the idea of communism; France, with the repeated threats of Germany. The English-speaking countries want a buffer against the Soviet. If Russia were a party to an agreement about Germany, a revived German state would be safe; without Russia's co-operation, conditions would be worse.

Noth foresees that increasing state monopoly will lead to further totalitarianism. This statement sounds like a warning note even for us: "With great strides and with dizzying rapidity we are approaching an age of termite-humanity governed by bureaucrats, technologists, and warriors."

At all events, peace with Germany must include elimination of her physical capacity and the moral temptation to carry on war. Briefly, "If the United States and the Soviet Union succeed in existing peacefully together in the world, then France and Germany can dwell peacefully in Europe."

This is emphasized in the second part of the book, which is focused on America. The present distrust between the United States and Russia, and our palpable efforts to strengthen Germany will result in German nationalism regaining power. That is the greater threat to world peace. A program intended to block communism may be a boomerang; while a program for a democratic way of life abroad, backed by a prosperous United States, will serve as a better weapon. Not least, Americans must stop being visionaries in a hard, covetous world.

* * *

William Henry Chamberlin offers his views on the problem in *The European Cockpit,* (Macmillan, $4.00). He favors a Western combination (Britain and the United States), with the western portion of Germany built up to reasonable strength. His view is not appeasement but a firm policy. Reviewing conditions in each of the more important countries, his hope lies in a federated Europe, including Germany. While not belittling the magnitude of the task, he believes it to be the only long-range guarantee of peace.

* * *

Looking to the Orient, where peace is also an unknown quantity, *Danger from the East,* by Richard E. Lauterbach, (Harper's, $3.75), tells a great deal of plain fact about what the Asiatic peoples think of their Uncle Sam. Based on his own observations after V-J Day, Lauterbach gives a candid picture of Japan and Korea under occupation, and of China struggling between the Kuomintang and the Communists. Again there is bitter condemnation of the Nationalist (Chiang-Kai-shek) group, and more than a hint that Asiatics are not enamoured of America.

BRIEFER COMMENT

GENERAL INTEREST

This Is Pearl: The United States and Japan, 1941, by Walter Millis, (Morrow, $4.00), is an analytical study of relations between the two nations in 1940 and 1941, up to and including December 7. Millis has used the mass of evidence and testimony gathered by the Congressional Joint Committee, as well as other sources. He also shows errors in judgment of some of our Washington officials prior to the break.

The Face of Robert E. Lee, by Roy Meredith, (Scribner's, $5.00), is a collection of prints made from photographs, paintings, daguerreotypes, and statues showing the famous Confederate general. Considering the elementary status of the photography of the era, the results are at least sufficient to show the man. Some of the engravings are notably precise and illuminative.

Karl Barth, once a professor in a German university, writes *The Only Way,* How to Change the German Mind, (Philosophical Library, $2.00). It is in part an analysis of the German viewpoint under National Socialism and partly an appeal for the "Movement for a Free Germany," sponsored in Switzerland.

Community of the Free, by Yves R. Simon, (Holt, $3.00), while particularly inspired by a study of racial conflict in Central Europe, is a collection of philosophical essays on the

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political ethics of man today. It is broad enough to offer some sincere and wise comments on social conditions, life, and religion.

For a useful and interesting introduction to one of the big questions of today, *Inside Pan-Arabia,* by M. J. Steiner, (Packard, $3.00), has a good deal of information on the Arab world, its history and people. The Arab-Jewish impasse, its roots and its current importance, are thoroughly aired. The author includes mention of the influences of the external powers, Britain and America, on the internal affairs of the Middle East.

The romantic or story-book side of Arab life is *Black Tents of Arabia,* by Carl Raswan, (Creative Age, $3.00), a reprint of the original published in 1935. This tells of Raswan's life among the Bedouins, about Arabian horses, beautiful women, and desert customs. It is entertaining, but in sharp contrast to current affairs in the region.

East of the Andes and West of Nowhere, by Nancy Bell Bates, (Scribner's, $3.50), is a breezy volume of observations on customs, people, and animals in Colombia. Mrs. Bates, as an assistant to her husband in his work for the Rockefeller Foundation, has combined a study of the country with her domestic life in a strange land, to make an excellent travelogue in the best meaning of the word.

The development of law, pictured by eminent lawyers through the ages, is the subject of *Men of Law*: from Hammurabi to Holmes, by William Seagle, (Macmillan, $5.00). Not only is there an exposition of how laws came into being in each age, but of necessity there are many references to customs and manners. It is not technical.

What are Yankees and what are their characteristics? B. A. Botkin edits *A Treasury of New England Folklore,* (Crown, $4.00), over 900 pages of literature devoted to the virtues and vices of the inhabitants of the section. It offers real entertainment for an entire winter's reading.

Salem and the Indies, The Story of the Great Commerical Era of the City, by James Duncan Phillips, (Houghton-Mifflin, $6.00), is the chronicle of what was once the sixth city of the country. The period between the Revolution and the War of 1812 was the great era for Salem. Legends and anecdotes add interest to the facts and figures.

George Gamow, the professor who knows the answer to scientific questions and how to make the average person understand them, writes *One Two Three—Infinity,* (Viking, $4.75). It is too much to say everything is grasped by your humble reviewer; Einstein and relativity and some other things are still heavy going. By text and illustration, Gamow offers entertainment and instruction in varied scientific fields for the inquiring mind.

BIOGRAPHY

Abraham Lincoln: His Life, Work and Character, Edited by Edward Wagenknecht, (Creative Age, $4.00), is an anthology of pieces about Lincoln, some from biographical works and some from fiction. It offers in one volume a wealth of information and interesting tributes.

Students of psychology and psychoanalysis will find both interest and some perception of Freudian principles in *Freud:* His Life and His Mind, by Helen Walker Puner, (Howell, Soskin, $4.00). Written as a biography, it has the merit of being non-technical for the lay reader, and with enough detail about Freud's life to make it a smooth story.

Bill Mauldin continues his good work with *Back Home,* (Sloane, $3.50), a book of drawings and text that will be as dear to American readers as was *Up Front.* Here he tells briefly but roguishly of his exit from the army. Then he examines the state of our economy and politics far more wisely than do our legislators. Mauldin knows what the average American is thinking, and he expresses it brilliantly by cartoon and word.

FICTION

East Side, West Side, by Marcia Davenport, (Scribner's, $3.00), is an excellent novel of society life in New York, with the tangled ends of lower East Side origins evidencing their virtues to the detriment of the upper crust. It is also by way of being a study in psychology; a woman suffering long neglect at the hands of her husband, surrounded by similar unhappiness among the smart and the elect. Then of course, comes the awakening to The Man. It is good character study.

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Set in a little town in Texas, with shifts to Washington and elsewhere, *The Ring and the Cross,* by Robert Rylee, (Knopf, $3.00), is primarily a study of life and politics today in the guise of fiction. There is also a glimpse of labor restlessness in the face of war preparation in 1940. There is love interest, and there is gripping realism of modern economic conditions in the South.

A light and fanciful little tale of the theatre is *Jenny Villiers,* by J. B. Priestley, (Harper's, $2.50). It is the drug-induced hallucination of a playwright in England, culminating in a renewal of faith and aspiration. It is deftly done.

A group of stories in his usual realistic vein is *The Life Adventurous,* the latest volume by James T. Farrell, (Vanguard, $3.00). While many may read with disapproval Farrell's biting reflections of life, particularly in adolescence, it must be admitted that he knows human beings, at least at their worst.

Colorado, by Louis Bromfield, (Harper's, $2.75), is a "western," of the cattle and mining country, when railroad pioneering was new and gambling and shootin' were big time sport. It is the story of the big man of Silver City, his family, and the politics and way of life of the era. It has all the essentials for a movie; light escape reading à la Bromfield.

California in 1846, Sutter and the gold rush, the rough and tumble adventuring of the pioneers and settlers, go to make *John Barry,* a Novel of California's Greatness, by Donald F. Bedford, (Creative Age, $3.00), a colorful story. A touch of New Orleans and the excitement of statehood for California help the picture. The several romantic episodes in the life of the hero are indifferent stuff, and, while there is plenty of action, the telling is rather indifferent, too.

Because stories of circus people and their affairs appeal to the romantic in us, *Gus the Great,* by Thomas W. Duncan, (Lippincott, $3.50), holds the reader's interest. It is not literary quality or unusualness, because these are not its virtues. Its hero is a great bluff, probably giving the reader all the pleasures of vicarious puncturing of inhibitions. The story is placed in the Midwest; it is meandering, full of unnecessary details about people that wander in and out. It is escape reading of the lighest sort, but it is fun.

The old story of Helen of Troy translated into the odyssey of her ravisher is told in *Paris of Troy,* by George Baker, (Ziff-Davis, $2.75). The story is told by the faithful but unfortunate Achates; in fact, the British edition was entitled *Fidus Achates.* This current version is rather sedate, ponderous, and a little slow.

The Hunter's Horn, by Peirson Ricks, (Scribner's, $3.00), is a novel of post-Civil War people and customs in the Carolinas. The aristocratic plantation owners, the poor whites and the liberated but serf-like Negroes make up its characters. The descriptions of the social habits of the times are vivid, and its love interest—the upper class boy and the poor white girl "he done wrong"—is dated. It is old-fashioned and tragic, but withal a good piece of fiction.

Caterpillar: An upholstered worm.

Louisville Courier Journal Magazine

Movement of wives to join husbands overseas has been labeled "Operation Henpeck" by Army men. *Quote*

The florist's new assistant picked up the phone and listened attentively as he heard the order.

"The ribbon must be extra wide," the man was saying, "with the 'Rest in Peace' on both sides, and if there is room, 'We shall meet in heaven.' "

There was a sensation when the flowers arrived at the funeral. True, the ribbon was extra wide, but the inscription it bore read: "Rest in peace on both sides and if there is room, we shall meet in heaven."

Reading Railway Magazine

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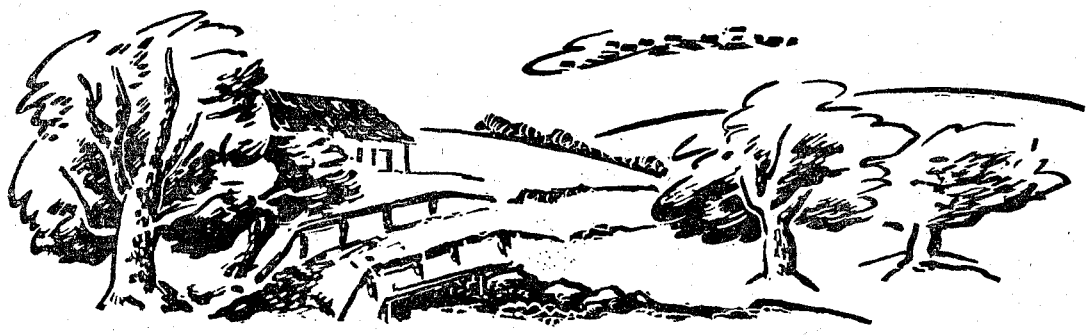

COUNTRY COMMENT

The British Snail-Watching Society has recently disbanded. Their object was "to bring to the notice of the whole world the virtues of the snail: unhurried persistence and sturdy independence." They have disbanded because their object, so they say, has been achieved.

First reaction to this news may be one of exhilaration. In a world of clash and collision, of stalemate, impasse, and frustration, here is a group of people who have achieved their goal. If the British Snail-Watchers have done it, handful though they may be, may not some of the rest of us accomplish something constructive?

The cynic, of course, is saying that the Snail-Watchers, having practiced on snails, are now concentrating on watching the slow creep of international relations and economic recovery. But in the wording of the notice of disbandment itself, I detect no overtone of cynicism.

I am convinced that the Snail-Watchers are sincere, though over-sanguine. Has their object actually been achieved? Does everyone in fact now appreciate the snail? Has everyone seen a snail, let alone watched it with unhurried persistence?

The Snail-Watchers disbanded before some of us got around to joining, before some of us were even invited to join, possibly before some of us knew that the Snail-Watchers existed. And I would risk the guess that were they now to reorganize and send out a universal invitation, a few people would still be unresponsive and unconverted. Can one be a horse-race-watcher or an auto-race-watcher and a snail-watcher at the same time? Can one serve God and Mammon?

I have done a little watching myself, if not of snails, of creatures comparable. I recall seeing only two snails in the past ten years. Though I watched them awhile, I now know that I did not watch them long enough. Perhaps if they had both been moving, I would have watched them longer. How long should one watch a snail that has withdrawn into its shell and is not moving at all? This much can be said in its favor: it is at least not moving backward. Perhaps the unmoving snail deserves longer watching than the moving snail.

I have watched other unmoving creatures, though some of them could move fast enough on occasion. A grasshopper pausing between leaps to look profound. A large black-and-yellow spider sitting serenely in the center of its mathematical web, waiting for the grasshopper to arrive. A frog in the sun practicing like a bronze Buddha the virtues of meditation and impassivity. A turtle halting on its long trek from the Mesozoic, peering out from its shell at the present age but never getting as far out as a snail can.

Snail-watchers are the last people in the world to disband. From snails let them proceed to crustaceans. Sooner might the Church itself have cause to disband because the world perchance had been saved.

—ROBERT FRANCIS

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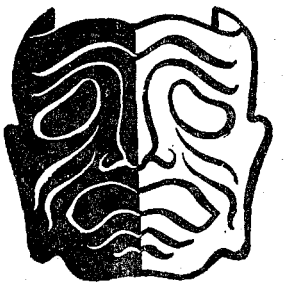
The THEATRE ARTS



by John Gassner

Among the various efforts to create important theatre this season, surely the most strenuous is *Allegro*. Third in the group of Rodgers and Hammerstein musicals calculated to give stature to American music drama, *Allegro* is understandably enough something that criticism approaches with circumspection. But it is to be feared that only those who are easily impressed with cyclopean efforts will be unreserved in their praise. With due deference to the laudable ambitions of Messrs. Rodgers and Hammerstein, some of us are actually inclined to deplore what *Allegro* reveals concerning its creators. Ever since *Oklahoma,* it has been their ambition to scale heights for which both their taste and their medium seem not quite suited. The indisputable attractions of *Carousel* could not conceal a tendency toward heavy-handedness and a lack of fundamental wit. The difference between their treatment and Molnar's handling of his theme in *Liliom* is the difference between a Mozart symphony and a Mahler symphony. The first possesses the grace of emotion mastered; the second displays the nervous gyration of sentiment mastering the creator, who by that token is only a moderate talent making pretentions to genius.

If this criticism is slightly unfair in the instance of *Carousel,* it is almost an understatement in the case of *Allegro*. In *Oklahoma* and *Carousel* the librettist and composer had Lyn Riggs and Molnar to use as a measure of how far and in what directions they could go. In *Allegro,* for which Mr. Hammerstein wrote the book, they were on their own. Let us suspect that for all their talent they lack the indispensable final grace of art—namely, a nice discrimination between sentiment and emotion (an equivalent for Coleridge's distinction between fancy and imagination) or, what amounts to the same thing, between the spurious and the genuine. It is a fault deeply imbedded in the soil of Broadway from which they have drawn their sustenance. The vulgarity of showmanship is often wholesome, and it can serve to pass the time of night away, as in *High-Button Shoes,* when there are no pretensions to something more exalted. The vulgarity of showmanship—that is, of straining for effect and display no matter how illegitimately—can exhibit not high-spiritedness but vulgarity of mind.

Allegro chronicles the life of a small-town country doctor from his birth to his final flight from spiritual dissolution in the big bad city where he caters to the neurotic whimsies of the useless rich. It starts off with trumpetings of his birth, his first halting steps, his going to school, and his calf-loves. The means employed to advance these common facts of nature are incongruously heroic; chorus and orchestra, abetted by stereopticon effects, blare forth these self-evident minutiae. At one point the entire background is filled with a Linnebach projection of baby's first spoon.

Not all of this is horrendous. Indeed the musical starts auspiciously enough, since there are humor and tenderness in the incongruity between the gargantuan means and the modest subject, the justification lying in the fact that everything about a childhood is momentous to the infant's doting parents. But our gratification with the opening sequences grows less

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and less as we come to realize that the creators of *Allegro* were ponderous in these scenes because they couldn't help it; they are ponderous throughout the play. Thereafter the platitudes multiply. Our hero Joe Taylor marries a five-letter-word, and as a result of the woman's machinations his mother dies. He leaves his noble medical practice in the "sticks;" he goes to the big city where he is corrupted; he collaborates with a predatory fashionable doctor; and he compromises with the overbearing and reactionary director of a big hospital. But Dr. Joe Taylor catches himself in time (Or is it in time, since his wife has become the director's mistress?), renounces the golden calf, and resumes his small-town practice. Here, then, we have the commonplace sob-story of the slick magazines, the even more commonplace contrast between the "Deserted Village" virtues of the country and the malodorous life of the city where country lads are likely to lose their souls, and the still more commonplace device of making a bad woman ruin a good man. The assumption that the poor are virtuous and the rich are deplorable is far too pat, and so is the picture of medical practice in the cities. Worst of all, *Allegro* makes goodness dull and villainy uninteresting. And what makes all these faults glaring is that the commonplace is presented as so momentous; that claims of originality and importance buttonhole your attention; and, lest you miss any of it, the show is so paced as to belie its title.

The score is occasionally brilliant, as in the number *One First, the Other Foot;* but in the main, the music matches the book in being portentous and insistent, in having weight without substance—an impossibility, we believe, in physics but a regrettable possibility in art. Although Agnes de Mille's choreography is often better, the dead weight even hampers the dancing. The singing is generally good and the acting is patently competent, but a pall hangs over the performances. The characters are as featureless as allegorical figures. Their world, however, lacks the genuine simplicity of a good allegory or a morality play like *Everyman.* Those who dislike this music drama cannot resist the rather unsavory temptation to label it *lento* instead of *allegro.* But the slow pace is not the essential fallacy. The fault is in the tawdry thinking underlying the conception of the musical, and what makes this irritating is the *ostinato* treatment of empty themes. *Allegro* is a bloated *Our Town;* and to contrast the two works, the one fulsome and the other casual and genuinely homespun, is the best way of taking the measure of the former's failure.

If this review seems to carry an animus it is not because *Allegro* is devoid of ability and merit. It *has* a certain stature, even if the giant is an ephemeral snow-man, and it can easily impress the unwary. The early sequences, taken by themselves, are vastly appealing, and the later ones are enlivened by the excellent lyrics, *Money Isn't Everything* and *Yatata, Yatata, Yatata,* the latter an inspired parody on the inane conversation of the social set. It can also be noted that Messrs. Rodgers and Hammerstein are trying to change the patterns of musical comedy and to advance the art. Their use of the chorus is unquestionably the most original and the boldest innovation in the field, even if their craftsmanship is defeated by their matter. They have scorned an easy success, since the entire nation must know by now that it would have been child's play for these experts to concoct something clever and pleasant for the musical comedy addicts.

Finally, it is evident that the public has something in *Allegro* that it will not want to miss—a new type of musical, arresting in intention if not in execution, and full of democratic fervor for the simplicities, which may be very suspect to the knowing but is bona fide caviare to the general.

If this reviewer takes exception to *Allegro,* it is because he knows how easily the contemporary purveyors of theatre delude themselves into thinking they are propounding profundities and creating deathless art by dipping into the fountain of popular banalities. This reviewer is also keenly sensible of the fact that the self-deluded are likely to be further deluded by the favorable response of a public that can hardly contradict them since their mediocrity of thought or feeling is interdependent. When the purveyor of "art" derives his taste from the public, he is only giving it back what it gave him. Mutual admiration is often as profitable as it is comforting.

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J. B. Priestley's *An Inspector Calls* has much in common with *Allegro,* even if it is scoreless. It is another morality play. *Allegro* orchestrates the question "What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul"—and wife. *An Inspector Calls* tells us that all of us are responsible for one another. Like Messrs. Rodgers and Hammerstein, J. B. Priestley also champions the common man and chides the rich for their corruption, although it would seem that Mr. Priestley's convictions are far more genuine. His political career in Britain would lead to this conclusion, as would the restraint of his play and the absence of protestations of faith. And, like the creators of *Allegro,* Mr. Priestley is not wholly genuine in his artistry when he resorts to the transparent trickery of showmanship.

A police inspector visits a well-to-do English family just as it is celebrating its daughter's engagement to an eligible young man. He has come to investigate the suicide of a poor girl who had been dismissed from a position, had lived on the bounty of one young man, had been the mistress of another, and had been turned down by a social welfare agency when she became pregnant. Under the inspector's quiet but firm scrutiny, the mask is ripped off the entire family and its prospective son-in-law. Each of them, it turns out, had contributed to the girl's Calvary. None of them are without guilt. When the inspector, who has behaved suspiciously, departs, they check on him and learn that there is no such inspector and that there has been no girl suicide. This is sufficient for all but the younger members of the household to shed their acquired sense of responsibility and return to their complacency—until the telephone rings, and they learn that a girl of identical description has just committed suicide!

For all the quiescence of the action, which does induce some tedium, and in spite of the incredibility of the resolution (the inspector is an indefinably supernatural figure and evidently has anticipated the girl's suicide), *An Inspector Calls* exerts a mild fascination. If the writing is competent rather than brilliant, mere competence seems appropriate to the story and theme. Brilliance in this case may have struck us as mere flamboyance, although Bernard Shaw could have negotiated the brilliance without suffering disaster. If the moral is being driven home in the manner of a tract, the play is steeped in a social compassion that has the effect of sincerity by virtue of its simplicity and reserve. If the characters are unoriginal, here and there they ring true, and the mysterious inspector, as played by Thomas Mitchell, is quite affecting. Somehow, moreover, J. B. Priestley has managed to convey the pathos of the never-present suicide admirably. She may be faceless to us but she is never really remote; nor is the possibility of our own responsibility for the misery of others unreal to us as the play progresses.

Excitement does not indeed seem to be the long suit of the British dramatists. Yet, in a curious way, Terence Rattigan's *The Winslow Boy,* another moral tract, communicates excitement. The play dramatizes the famous Archer-Shee case of a little naval cadet whose father fought his case right up to Parliament when the lad was unjustly dismissed from Britain's Annapolis for stealing. The stubborn fight of the father, odd and covered with the anti-macassar manners of the Victorian period, becomes something arrestingly fine. It is the test of the political health of a nation that a case concerning the dismissal of a 13-year-old cadet, who is very happy in another school, becomes a national issue. The implications of the play are probably the most exciting elements of the story. The play is acted to the hilt by a convincing cast, especially by Frank Allen playing the great barrister who espouses the boy's cause. Although much of the plotting after the first act is too routine to make the play memorable, it holds the attention and the sympathies as many a more original piece of playwriting does not. Perhaps the reason lies, not merely in the theme, but in the fact that it is projected through characters whose somewhat stuffy exterior covers the pulse of spirit. Playwriting of this kind earns respect, as the writing in the Theatre Guild's latest pretentious excursion into pseudo-symbolism, *This Time Tomorrow,* does not. This Dutch play concerning life and death by Jan de Hartog should, indeed, be a lesson to all playwrights and producers. You can make a hole in a doughnut, but you cannot make a doughnut out of a hole.

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YES!

By JAMES CARR

THE tiny country of Palestine, promised land of the Jew, native homeland of the Arab, has been a sore spot of international politics since the close of the first World War. As the unfortunate Jews of Europe, hungry, homeless, and unwanted, suffer their third winter in Displaced Persons camps, the establishment of a national homeland for the Jewish people becomes imperative. Since the Balfour Declaration of 1917, Palestine has been the accepted Jewish home; despite the machinations of the Arab League and the ineptitudes of British administrators, homeless Jews the world over are still waiting hopefully to return to the promised land.

The partition of Palestine to provide such a home for the Jews is necessary on two counts: first of all, the Jews have a legal, historical, and moral right to Palestine and, secondly, only partition can solve the Arab-Jewish conflicts which have blocked realization of the Zionist dream. The legal right of the Jews stems from the commitment made by British Foreign Secretary Balfour during the first World War. His famous declaration was contained in a letter to Lord Rothschild:

> I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet:
>
> His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country.

France approved the Declaration on February 9, 1918; Italy on May 9 of the same year. On March 3, 1919, President Wilson, who had known of the statement prior to its issuance, declared that ". . . the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

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When Great Britain received the mandate for governing Palestine in 1923, the League of Nations made it responsible for putting into effect the Balfour Declaration, giving further international sanction to the Jewish claim.

In addition to this legal right, the Jewish historical right to Palestine reaches far back into ancient history. One of the oldest homes of man, Palestine was occupied by the Jews as far back as 1229 B. C. Although ancient Hebrew rule disappeared after six-and-one-half centuries (no small space of time), the strong Jewish attachment to Palestine has never been broken. Does not the Bible promise that ". . . the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with song and everlasting joy . . ."? This, and other Bible passages, have nurtured the Jewish belief that Palestine is peculiarly a Jewish homeland.

COMMITMENTS TO ARABS

If the British government had been able to keep its word to the Jews after the first World War, Palestine today would be a sanctuary for the displaced and homeless; partition would be unnecessary. Unfortunately for all concerned, however, the British government had also made commitments to the Arabs in order to gain their military support during the first World War. "The British Government agrees to help in the formation of an Arab Empire, completely independent in its international and foreign affairs. . ." According to the Arabs, Palestine was to be included in the Arab state; it is more than likely that the British purposely left this point clouded. At the present time, everyone realizes that Britain's promises were mutually contradictory; saddled with the Mandate in 1923, she could not solve the dilemma she had

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JM: alestine ned Now?

NO!

By PETER GRUNDY

THE United Nations plan for the partition of Palestine has already been approved by the Great Powers. Although delays have been faced in the actual partition, it is now assumed that by no later than October 1, 1948, the partition of the Arab homeland will have become reality. Yet it is not too late to call the attention of the Western world to the grave injustice, the manifest impracticability, and the obvious danger of such a plan. Already, the people of the West are accustomed to calling the Arabs "obstructionist," "anti-Semitic," "barbaric;" today, thanks to Zionist and imperialist propaganda, the Arabs' claim to their native land has been largely forgotten. It is easy for Americans, Englishmen, and Russians to ignore their fellow humans halfway 'round the world, in their anxiety to find some painless solution to the Jewish problem, but this does not make their proposal fair or, for that matter, practical.

Perhaps the Arab viewpoint can be most clearly understood in this country by parallel examples. The now infamous Mufti of Jerusalem hit the nail on the head as far back as 1933 when he asked:

"Suppose the Japanese took possession of California and said they were going to establish a superior culture there, how would you like it?"

The American Indian, driven from his native lands, massacred by the now "native" Americans, isolated on government reservations, has a far more valid claim to America than the Jews have to Palestine. How would Americans like to partition off a state or two for the red-skinned natives, to give them an independent national home? As preposterous as this idea may seem to us, the partition of Palestine seems far more bizarre to the Arabs of the Middle East.

But, you may cry, Palestine has always been the *Jewish* homeland! This is simply not true; the concept of a Jewish Palestine springs from a combination of Bible reading and Zionist propaganda. Look at the facts: since Jerusalem fell in 586 B.C., there has never been Jewish domination of the Holy Land! Read the Bible again; except for a period of four hundred troubled years, the Jews have never had a real government in Palestine, and even during that time their rule was constantly contested, save for the brief years of King Solomon's reign. More than 1800 years ago Jerusalem was finally destroyed by the Romans and Palestine ceased to be in any way a Jewish country! Since the Zionists seem so eager to turn back the pages of history, let us turn a few more. To young western nations, 1229 B.C. may seem beyond historical time. Yet the history of Eastern civilization goes further back. The Jews were not original natives of Palestine at all; they were wandering nomads who finally left Egypt (after a stay of 400 years) in about 1300 B.C., according to the Christian calendar. Gradually they advanced into Palestine, conquering and subduing the native Philistines. The Jews were not original natives; only briefly did they control the Holy Land at all. So much for ancient history.

Now look at the Arab case. From about 650 A.D., Palestine has been Arabic in population, language and religion; in other words, Palestine *is* an Arab national homeland, just as France is French and Russia, Russian. If possession is nine-tenths of the law, what does this long, continuous possession of Palestine by the Arabs mean?

Yet, you may say, the Jews have always aspired to return to the land of their fathers; why can't they go back and live in Palestine *with* the Arabs? It may surprise you to learn that some Jews have always lived in Palestine, side by side with their Arab fellow-Semites without conflict or bloodshed. Before the rise of modern Zionism, before the beginnings of *nationalist* sentiment among the

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(Continued from page 26)

created. Yet it is no longer *à la mode* to blame Great Britain; geographic, political, and nationalist factors all contributed to the difficulty.

Palestine lies at the crossroads between Europe, Asia, and North Africa; like the Dardanelles, it is a strategic "hot spot" in power politics. And, like the Dardanelles, its location is too close to the oil fields of Arabia to permit disinterested study by the Great Powers. Geographically, Palestine is to small and poor to support two widely different cultural groups side by side. Sentimentally, the Arabs since 1918 have grown to look upon Palestine as part of a greater Arabia; Arab nationalism has been carefully stimulated by interested powers for the past 20 years.

In truth and in fact, Palestine is only a small part of the Arab Middle East; barren and infertile, it has no real economic or political significance for the Arab world. In 1914, the total Arab population of Palestine was only 500,000; today, with the lowered mortality rates and the higher standard of living introduced by the Jews, the Arab population has reached only a little over a million. Palestine is thus in no sense a necessary part of Arabia, as the Ruhr may be part of Germany.

Insignificant and small as the Holy Land may seem, for millions of homeless Jews today, Palestine is home; there is no other.

BRITISH PARTITION PLAN

The first suggestion of partition was made by a British Royal Commission in 1936 after serious disorders amounting almost to rebellion had broken out in the mandate. By that time the commissioners were ready to admit the obvious: that "the obligations Britain undertook toward the Arabs and the Jews some twenty years ago . . . have proved irreconcilable, and, as far ahead as we can see, they must continue to conflict. . ." They, therefore, proposed to divide Palestine into three sections: a new Jewish state; an Arab section, to be united with the existing Arab principality of Trans-Jordan; and a neutral section, including the Holy cities and shrines, which would remain under the mandatory government of Great Britain. The four towns of Haifa, Acre, Safid, and Tiberius were also included because of their mixed populations. "The two new states would, of course, be wholly independent and eligible for membership in the League of Nations." Only in this way, according to the Royal report, would Palestinian conflicts be reconciled.

At that time the Jews, like the Arabs, refused even to consider the partition scheme. They pointed to the Balfour Declaration. They quoted statistics to show the number of Jews needing refuge, compared to the number the proposed Jewish state could accommodate. They exclaimed at the idea of a tiny Jewish state able to resist Arab aggression, in the heart of the Arab world. Former High Commissioner of Palestine Viscount Samuel also characterized partition as "subject to grave objections." "The Commission seems to have picked out all the most awkward provisions of the Peace Treaty of Versailles, and to have put a Saar, a Polish Corridor, and half a dozen Danzigs and Memels into a country the size of Wales," he wrote.

The objections to partition from Jews and Arabs alike were so potent in 1937 that the British government withdrew the plan, declaring, in a government White Paper, that it was "in no sense committed" to partition as a solution. The attitude of the British government today seems to indicate that it is still afraid of partition.

Why then have the Jews changed their minds? Why do thinking people the world over now seem to favor partition? The answer lies partly in the sadly changed circumstance of world Jewry; partly in the partition plan itself, and in the United Nations.

In 1936, the Jews of Europe had not yet felt the full force of the German terror. True, early Nazi persecution had increased emigration to Palestine between 1933 and 1936. Between the census year of 1931 and 1936, the proportion of Jews to the total Palestine population rose from 18 per cent to nearly 30 per cent. The first three years of Nazi rule had brought some 135,000 immigrants to the Promised Land: by 1937 the total Jewish population had reached nearly 400,000.

But immigration had been accepted after World War I as one of the ways of building up a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine. Naturally it was conceded that such immigra-

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tion would have to be limited to minimize Arab resentment and to allow for population absorption. When the mandate was first approved in 1922, there were only some 84,000 Palestinian Jews. Throughout the 1920's and early 1930's the British policy had worked well enough.

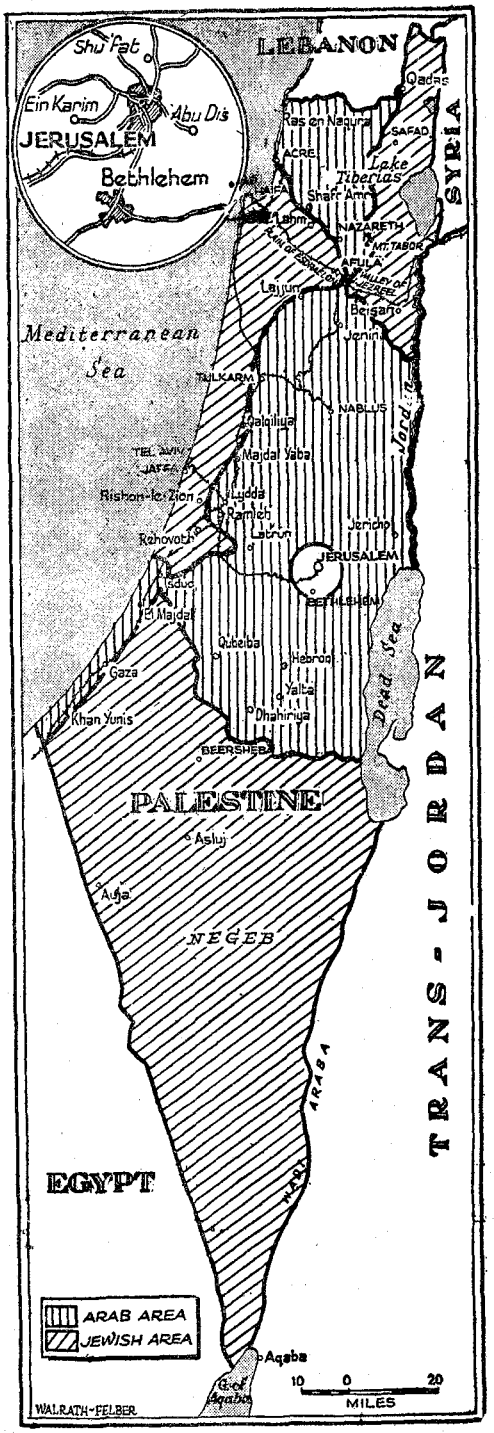
WHITE PAPER

The rise of Adolph Hitler made alteration seem necessary, however, to the British for more than one reason. First of all, increased Jewish immigration had added to Arab resentment; the British had difficulty checking the widespread Arab terrorism of 1936. Secondly, as Hitler Germany prepared for war, Arab support for the British Empire again began to seem vital, and pacification of the Arab Middle East assumed great importance. Thus, in 1939, when the Jews were in direst need of haven, the British government issued its famous, or infamous, White Paper restricting Jewish immigration into Palestine to a mere trickle. The United Nations committee report on Palestine sums up the White Paper of 1939 thus:

> (1) During the five years following 1939, providing economic absorbtive capacity permitted, some 75,000 Jews in all were to be admitted: 10,000 in each year together with a further 25,000 Jewish refugees as soon as adequate provision for their maintenance could be assured. The intention of the mandatory power was to bring the Jewish population up to approximately one-third of the total population of Palestine.
>
> (2) After this five-year period, "no further Jewish immigration will be permitted unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it."
>
> (3) Illegal immigration would be checked by "further preventive measures" and the numbers of any illegal immigrants entering Palestine would be deducted from the yearly quota for immigration.

This same White Paper also substantially modified the British policy toward Jewish land settlement; land transfer from Arab to Jew was severely limited and in some sections forbidden.

Whereas in 1937-1938 the Zionists had opposed partition in favor of some less extreme plan for Arab-Jewish-British cooperation, in 1939 the attitude of the British government made further Jewish-British cooperation seem impossible. Jewish persecution in Europe was spreading. New tactics were adopted by the desperate Jews; illegal immigration was encouraged by the Zionists wherever possible. Seeing that Arab terroism had let to British capitulation, the Palestine Jews began themselves to form terrorist secret societies to fight the British administration. A changed British



Walrath-Felber *The New York Times*

THE MAJORITY'S PLAN OF PARTITION

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attitude toward the mandate, then played a strong role in changing Zionist aims.

The end of the war in 1945 by no means marked the end of the Jewish problem in Europe. Like hundreds of thousands of other displaced persons, Jewish D.P.'s did not want to return to the scenes of their persecution; unlike other D.P.'s, they faced certain persecution in some of the countries of their origin. Hitler is gone, but the prejudice he nurtured flourishes in Europe, and Europe's Jews are paying the penalty.

The Jews of the world then came face to face with the problem of their European brothers who literally had "no place to go" save Palestine. Since 1945 it has become evident that few countries of the world are willing to accept the displaced Jew. Any intelligent American can read between the lines of debate on the Stratton Bill and see the great American prejudice against Jewish refugees. Assurances that the great majority of D.P.'s are "Christian" merely represent guarantees that the D.P.'s admitted here will not be, for the most part, Jews. Nor is the United States the only nation that is reluctant to accept any immigrants, much less Jewish immigrants. Prior to the war's end, many well-meaning Jews believed that their European brethren could find sanctuary in the less-populated countries of the world: in the United States, in Canada, in Australia as well as in South American or African colonies. Since the war's end that hope has died; even the ardent non-Zionist now faces the fact that for Europe's Jews there is no refuge at all, if Palestine is none.

MAJORITY PROPOSAL

In addition, the partition plan of 1936, which would have had an impotent League of Nations behind it, has been replaced with a more intelligent plan for partition, with *independent* Jewish and Arab states, backed by a more forceful United Nations organization. The bare outlines of the majority proposal for Palestine are as follows:

(1) Creation of an independent Palestine after September 1, 1949;

(2) Creation of a Jewish state to include most of the coastal plain, the Arab city of Jaffa, all of the Negeb;

(3) Creation of an Arab state to include most of the hill country, and a strip of the coast;

(4) Creation of an international area to be administered under the United Nations trusteeship system, to consist of greater Jerusalem;

(5) Immigration of 150,000 during the period of transition;

(6) Economic union of Jewish and Arab states as a prerequisite of their independence.

The reasons for Zionist support of this proposal, which now has the backing both of the United States and of the U.S.S.R., are nowhere stated with greater clarity than in the recommendations of the United Nations special committee. The recommendations cannot fail to appeal to every intelligent world citizen. We may deplore anti-Semitism; we cannot disregard it. We may wish to find a solution to the Jewish problem in assimilation of the Jews throughout the world; we cannot ignore the fact that public opinion in most of the world will not stand for this solution. We may agree that the Arabs are in no way to blame for the plight of European Jewry; we cannot deny this plight.

First of all, no extreme solution can be found for Palestine: neither an independent all-Arab nor an independent all-Jewish state is practical. This the Arabs will not admit, yet it is patently true. The United Nations committee's analysis of the dilemma seems eminently sound: ". . . the crux of the Palestine problem is to be found in the fact that two sizable groups, an Arab population of over 1,200,000 and a Jewish population of over 600,000, with intense nationalist aspirations, are diffused through a country that is arid, limited in area and poor in all essential resources." The partition plan is recommended first of all because "there is an urgent need for a change in the status of Palestine."

This is obvious to everyone. Terrorism must be stopped; the British have announced that they can no longer be responsible for a solution. Independence of Palestine is long overdue; yet independence cannot be granted before some solution to Arab-Jewish conflict is worked out. With an independent Jewish state in part of Palestine, administered entirely by Jews, the refugees of Europe will at last have a homeland, as soon as it is able to ab-

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sorb and support them. The Arabs can build up their own state, or not, as they see fit, and Jewish immigration will no longer menace their security. The provision for economic union, on the other hand, will give both states a fighting chance to establish a flourishing economy and to continue the rising standard of living so long a feature of the new Palestine.

This is not to say that partition is an ideal solution; it is far from it. When Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American section of the official Jewish Agency for Palestine, gave reluctant approval to the partition plan in October, he summed up the position not only of Zionists but of all thinking Jews. "Partition. . ." he declared, "entails a very heavy sacrifice on the part of the Jewish people. . . . We would be prepared [to make this sacrifice] because . . . [partition] makes possible the immediate re-establishment of the Jewish state." The need for such a state is only too obvious. "Our unfortunate refugees are still languishing in the displaced persons' camps facing a third winter. . . Palestine offers to them that which they need most and cannot find anywhere else: the chance of a real home."

Balanced against these arguments, we have only the stubborn refusal of the Arabs to consider any plan either for partition or for further Jewish immigration into Palestine. Palestine itself is an infinitesimal portion of Greater Arabia; of this, partition will still give the Arabs a share. Considering the contributions the Jews have made to Palestine, considering the international guarantees made to the Jews long since, considering their greater need, partition is the only possible solution.

(Continued from page 27)

Jews, there was no problem for Palestine's Arabs. In 1845, there were only 12,000 Jews in Palestine; in 1882, there were 24,000; in 1914, 85,000. Of this number, the "native" Jews were similar in living habits, culture, and standards to their fellow-Semites and friction was almost non-existent.

GEOGRAPHICAL FACTS

It is a simple geographical fact that Palestine is too poor and small a country to support two such widely different cultures, two such varied groups, as the Arabs and the *Western* Jews, without conflict and with a decent living standard. The total area of Palestine, within her post-1922 boundaries, is only a little over 10,000 square miles, including almost 300 square miles of inland water. Imagine partitioning a country only nine-tenths as large as Belgium! Imagine settling two strange, hostile peoples in two independent states on a total area little more than one-fifth as large as New York state! Although in many parts of Palestine rain is plentiful, its very poor distribution results in very dry seasons and very wet seasons that do not make fertile farmland. Palestine is poor, small and barren, yet this tiny country has already given refuge to 600,000 Jews.

Because of its infertility, Palestine cannot support a large Arab population; at the beginning of the first World War, there were only 500,000 Arabs in Palestine. Today, the Arab population is only about 1,200,000; more than one-third of the total population of Palestine has been forced on the Arabs in the last quarter of a century. What other people in the world would have submitted to this? Unlike many nations of the West, the Arabs are neither anti-Semitic nor hostile to refugees; no nation, however, willingly becomes a minority in its own country. When Germany under Hitler moved Germans into Czechoslovakia to dominate the Czechs, or into Poland to dominate the Poles, the world gasped. When the Zionists proposed, with British and American backing, to move enough Jews into Palestine to make them a majority, no one understood the Arab protests.

Naturally enough, the Allied nations are now concerned with the awful plight of Europe's Jews. Having maintained a "hands-off" policy while Hitler assigned countless numbers to the gas chambers, they are now uncomfortably burdened with the sad remnants, living reminders of their own appeasing isolationism of the 1930's. Rather than accept their own responsibility, however, they prefer to turn the problem over to the Arabs, who have never in any way contributed to the

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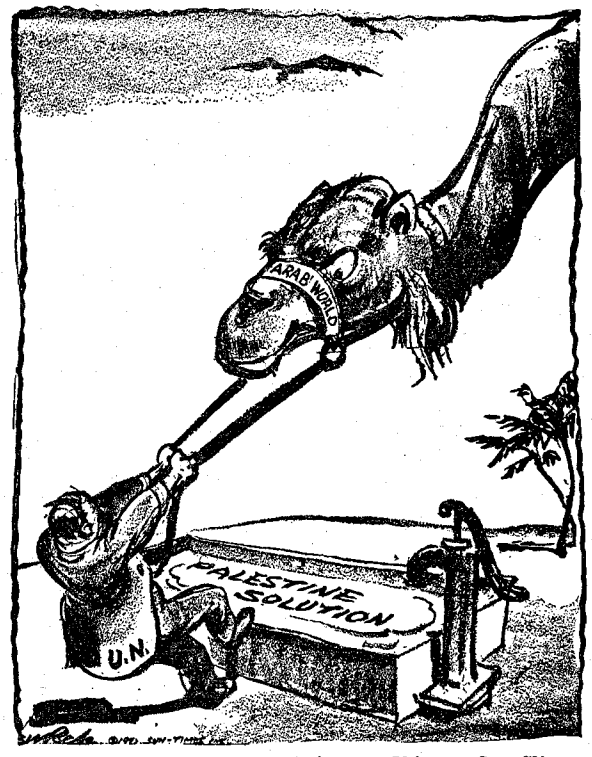
misery of world Judaism. Like people who send orphaned children to asylums, the aged to "homes," and friendless dogs to the pound, they want to do their "Christian duty" without inconveniencing themselves. My opponent, like the Jews of Europe, understands this difficulty. He appeals to the fact that there is no other place for the Jews to go. Does this make it fair to consign them to a land that cannot support them, to a people who had no share in their misery?

The Arabs are in no sense responsible for the more than a million Jews now homeless in Europe. If the United States, with her vast resources, is unwilling or unable to absorb them, how can Palestine? The question then arises: why has Palestine been chosen as the solution of this problem? First of all, Palestine is the answer for a small group of Zionist Jews anxious to return to the Holy Land, to re-settle in the Orient. This small group could undoubtedly work out an arrangement with the native Arabs and live peacefully with them. Secondly, Palestine is the last hope for the enormous group of refugees no other country wants. This group has been misled by the disastrous Balfour Declaration to believe that it has a *right* to Palestine, that in Palestine the Jews have a secure homeland. Unattractive as the prospect of a barren, rural existence may seem, it is preferable to the D.P. camps, to the ghettos, to perpetual wandering on the face of an unfriendly earth. This is the group that wants to go to Palestine or to the gas chambers. This is the pitiful group to whom the Allied nations have offered no other hope. Thirdly, Palestine seems to be a solution to the Western world in general because the Arabs are not strong enough to protest over-much; willy-nilly, the United Nations have been able, they think, to put over the partition plan against all the protests made by Arabia. It is almost inconceivable to the Arabs that a United Nations dedicated to peace can so copy the methods of the late Adolph Hitler!



Burck in the *Chicago Sun-Times*

"But Can He Make Him Drink?"

In spite of wishful thinking, however, the Allied nations and the well-meaning but mistaken Zionists have so far been unable to utilize Palestine as a solution to the problem. The British government, after 20 years of sad experience, has been forced to recognize that Palestine could not be at the same time a Jewish national home and an Arab state. Although the British government also considered partition, it concluded that any partition plan would lead only to further trouble for Jews as well as Arabs. Such a plan, the British realized, would provide "a fertile scene for future wars." In a territory the size of Vermont, partition will mean two frontiers, two political systems, and a special area governed by neither state.

The proposed partition of Palestine will permit the Jews to settle their hundreds of thousands of refugees on a territory of 5,500 square miles, surrounded by hostile Arabs, and constantly threatened by Arab violence. That Great Britain, most experienced in this region, sees the difficulty is illustrated by her refusal to carry out the United Nations proposal. If the Arabs fought eventual domination of their native state by foreigners, why should they acquiesce in losing half their country to these same foreigners? Since the United States has refused to open its gates to Europe's displaced, would anyone expect the American people to *give* the refugees a

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couple of states for their very own? It is simple in the extreme to expect a partition plan to work when assimilation of any sort has proved impossible.

At the present time, the United States government, which has refused to permit even 400,000 refugees to enter its own country,[1] is insisting on the immediate admission of 100,000 more Jews into Palestine. In a recent article by King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan, this Arab leader declares that "this will have the most frightful consequences in bloody chaos beyond anything ever hinted at in Palestine before." Those who think that civil war is an idle threat can read the reports from India, now suffering a legacy from western civilization.

Like all civilized human beings, the Arabs are anxious to find a workable solution for Europe's homeless Jews. Now, before it is too late, the nations of the Western world must face the facts of the situation. The Jews have neither a legal nor a moral right to Palestine; the promises made by Great Britain, and supported by the United States, during the last war, were a grave political error and an ethical wrong. In any case, the small country of Palestine is unable to absorb the refugees; too many have entered the Holy Land already. European Jews are for the most part Western and urban in culture, not Oriental; the Jews in Palestine today are far from homogeneous and the refugees do not "fit in" or even "mingle" with their Jewish compatriots who are true Orientals in outlook and living standards. The Western world has a moral obligation to accept its responsibility for the problems it has created. The practical solution is within reach of the United Nations today, in the rich, fertile, underpopulated lands owned by the Great Powers. No one can deny that the Arabs have borne more than their share of the burden already; sooner or later, the United States, the British Commonwealth, and their Allies, will have to accept their fair portion. To condemn European Jewry to a great and hopeless Exodus, to bloodshed and war, to endless insecurity, will neither solve the problem nor right the wrong. The partition of Palestine will never be accepted by the Arabs of the Middle East; it will never solve the problem; it must be re-considered now!

[1] For a debate on the Stratton Bill, see FORUM, August, 1947, pp. 104-105.

A Holland street needed paving badly. Finally it was finished—with smooth wooden blocks. One Dutchman, when asked how the work was accomplished, boasted: "We chust godt our heads togedder."

Reflector

Everybody wants something. The practical man knows how to get what he wants. The philosopher knows what people ought to want. And the ideal man is he who knows how to get what he ought to want.

Edgar Brightman, in *Young America*

The publisher of *The New York Times* was scheduled to meet the President of Cuba not long ago. He had studied Spanish in college, but had forgotten all but one phrase. He was good, too, at "I regret exceedingly that I am not too familiar with Spanish," a phrase he had picked up on a visit to South America. When he tried his first phrase on the Cuban President, the eyebrows of that distinguished gentleman jumped like jackrabbits. The interpreter hastily ejected a stream of explanation.

Later he took the publisher aside. "I wouldn't try that one again," he suggested confidentially. "What you said was, 'Lick yourself, you poor thing, your snout's greasy.'"

The New York Times

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More Than

FIFTY YEARS OF FORUM

The newspapers of 1886 came in for as much criticism as does the press in our own day. We find FORUM contributors deploring the influence of advertisers and publishers and speculating on the possible success of a paper without advertising. Mr. Julius H. Ward in "The Future of Sunday Journalism," however, holds out great hope for the moral effect of the Sunday paper.

At the present moment journalism, too, is passing through a similar phase, during which the mere business side of the profession has obtained an enormous and ill-regulated importance. Formerly, the proprietors held a somewhat deferential attitude toward the editors, and any interference on their part with the conduct of the paper was regarded as an impertinence, as if Mr. Booth's manager should presume to say how a certain passage of Hamlet should be spoken. At the present time and in many newspaper offices, the writers are nothing, the proprietors are everything.

. . . . The huge mass of paper issued on Sunday morning by way of a newspaper is on many accounts an interesting and important study. A stranger might easily mistake the nature and purpose of this new product of human exertion. He might very naturally, upon a first glance, call to the retreating carrier and say 'We want the morning paper; you have left us the Dry-goods Reporter *or the* Jones and Robinson Gazette.'

. . . . In a land where dry goods are known to be the foremost interest of human nature, it was to be expected that the men who are so happy as to deal in them should magnify their vocation. But we find in glancing over these sheets that all other interests of man and woman are effaced before them. . . . No matter how important the news, no matter what wars are raging, no matter whose nomination is rejected, or how Miss Cleveland has changed the dressing of her hair, nothing is so manifest to the view as that Jones and Robinson are out with a new slaughter in black silks.

. . . . When I venture to suggest to a veteran journalist that the next great movement in the evolution of his noble art will be to cut loose from advertising altogether, he bestows upon me a smile of more or less polite derision. He denies the possibility of such a thing, and time may prove him right.

. . . . It is as unfair to judge the Sunday press by its worst examples as to judge of Christianity by its imperfect forms. The true way to study it is in the light of what it may be made. Granting its earthly origin, its interference with the traditional Sunday, its possible holding people from church services, its secular spirit and atmosphere, it occupies such a position that no wise man can ignore it. It holds the key to the secular and the religious education of the masses, and perhaps the most interesting and important question before the American Churches is whether it cannot be so related to the institutions of religion that it shall strengthen rather than destroy the reverent influences that ought to obtain in daily life. . . . The Sunday press is a part of the movement for making the American Sunday of the future. It is the world's university, in which the people at large are educated once a week, and what controls the Sunday controls what lies between the Sundays. It is that kind of influence that controls the lives of men.

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Marshall vs. Molotov

Although foreign policy is traditionally plotted in the executive secrecy of world cabinets, the United States and the Soviet Union have increasingly tended to define their aims, to defend and explain their policies before a world forum. Beginning with Mr. Marshall's opening address to the United Nations General Assembly on September 17, 1947 (see FORUM, November, 1947), this exchange has assumed the form of a running public debate between the two great powers, Mr. Vishinsky replying for the Soviet Union.

On November 6, 1947, the thirty-first anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, and three weeks before the opening of the foreign ministers' conference in London, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov restated the Soviet position. While maintaining that countries with differing economic systems could collaborate in peace-time if they so desired, Mr. Molotov repeated Mr. Vishinsky's predictions of economic collapse in the United States and his charges of capitalist imperialism and warmongering. He accused the United States and Great Britain of collaborating with former Nazis to gain control of the Ruhr and to use this control to dominate Europe. He called upon the "anti-imperialist and democratic" forces in Europe to rally against the open imperialism of Great Britain and the United States.

In Chicago, on November 18, 1947, Secretary of State Marshall reviewed and reaffirmed the policy of the United States. Our basic aim he stated as "the promotion of the right of people to govern themselves and the rule of impartial law as against arbitrary power." The United States, whose civilization stems from Europe, fought two wars to preserve its integrity because it believes Europe's stability and prosperity are prerequisite for a peaceful world and because it believes that Europe has made and can make great contributions to world civilization. The basic question becomes: will Europe be restored to a position of stability so it can work out its own problems or is it to be kept in a state of permanent dependency resulting in "eventual absorption into a system alien to its traditions and civilization?"

Mr. Marshall vigorously denied Soviet allegations of our desire to dominate Europe; he called a halt to further Soviet propaganda as it was endangering world peace, and asked for the restoration of the Ruhr as a necessary step in the restoration of European economy. He pledged himself to pursue the course thus laid down regardless of the "alarms and excursions intended to distract us."

FORUM takes pleasure in presenting excerpts from these two speeches.

MR. MOLOTOV

All real friends of peace—and they constitute the majority of people of any country—can rely on the fact that the Soviet Union will defend to the end the interests of universal peace.

In accordance with that peaceful policy, the Soviet Union stands for the all-embracing development of international cooperation.

Comrade Stalin profoundly elucidated our foreign policy in his talk with the well-known American, Harold Stassen. They (the Soviet Union and the United States) can, of course, cooperate with each other, said Stalin. The difference between them was not important as far as collaboration was concerned. The economic systems in Germany and the United States were alike, nevertheless war broke out between them.

The economic systems of the United States and the Soviet Union were different, said Stalin, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war. If two different systems could collaborate during the war why could they not collaborate in peacetime? Naturally, it should be understood that, provided there was the desire to collaborate, collaboration was perfectly possible with different economic systems. But if there was no desire

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to collaborate, then—even with economic systems which were alike—states and people might be fighting each other.

The Soviet Union has invariably carried out, and is carrying out, the policy of peace and international collaboration. Such are the relations of the Soviet Union with all the countries which evince a desire to collaborate.

The policy outlined by Comrade Stalin is opposed at present by another policy, based on quite different principles. Here we can talk first and foremost of the foreign policy of the United States, as well as that of Great Britain.

Possibly there exists in the United States a program of economic development of the country for some period ahead. However, the press has not yet announced anything about this, although press conferences take place there quite frequently. On the other hand, much noise is being spread about various American projects, connected now with the Truman Doctrine, now with the Marshall plan.

ECONOMIC CRISIS

Reading of all these American plans for aid to Europe, aid to China, and so on, one might think that the domestic problems of the United States have long ago been solved, and that now it is only a question of America's putting the affairs of other states in order, dictating its policy to them and even the composition of their governments.

In reality, matters are not like that. If the ruling circles of the United States had no cause for anxiety concerning domestic affairs, especially in connection with an approaching economic crisis, there would not be such a superfluity of economic projects of United States expansion, which in their turn are based on the aggressive military-political plans of American imperialism.

Now they no longer hide the fact that the United States of America, not infrequently together with Great Britain, is acquiring ever new naval and air bases in all parts of the globe, and even adapts whole states for such like aims, especially if closely situated to the Soviet Union.

Who does not complain about the pressure of American imperialism in that respect? Even if the governments of certain big states of Europe, Asia and America preserve a kind of solid silence in regard to this matter, it is clear that certain small states are faced by an absolutely intolerable position. Denmark, for instance, cannot achieve the restoration of her national sovereignty over Greenland, which the Americans do not want to leave after the end of the war. Egypt legitimately demands the withdrawal of British troops from her territory. Britain refuses to do that, and America supports the British imperialists in these matters also.

It is, however, clear that the creation of military bases in various parts of the world is not designed for defense purposes, but as a preparation for aggression. It is also clear that if, up to now, the combined British-American General Staff, created during the second World War, has been maintained, this is not being done for peace-loving purposes, but for the purpose of intimidating with the possibility of new aggression.

It would be a good thing for all this to be known to the American people, for under the so-called Western freedom of the press, when almost all newspapers and radio stations are in the hands of small cliques, the aggressive cliques of the capitalists and their servitors, it is difficult for the people to know the real truth.

It is interesting that in expansionist circles of the United States a new, peculiar sort of illusion is widespread—while having no faith in their internal strength—faith is placed in the secret of the atom bomb, although this secret has long ceased to exist.

Evidently the imperialists need this faith in the atom bomb which, as known, is not a means of defense but a weapon of offense. Many are indignant that the United States and Great Britain hamper the United Nations from adopting a final decision in the prohibition of atomic weapons. During this year British scientists have twice protested against this, having twice published statements in which they express dissatisfaction at the fact that Britain only says "ditto" to the United States in this matter.

And that is fully understandable, since the peoples of America and Britain, no less than other peoples, are interested in introducing

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both the prohibition of atomic weapons and the general reduction of armaments.

At the same time one should understand that the refusal to prohibit the atomic weapon covers the imperialists with shame and sets against them all honest people, all peoples.

Or take the question of the warmongers. Despite all the efforts of the American and other expansionists, the General Assembly unanimously decided to condemn propaganda for a new war. At the same time the discussion showed that it is necessary to strengthen still further the struggle against the warmongers and against their patrons who execute the will of the aggressive and greedy profiteers, the top capitalist multi-millionaires, and those who do not take the interests of their peoples into account.

It is well known that the industry of the United States of America in the period between the two world wars has grown, although its development proceeded extremely unevenly and twice fell considerably below the level of 1913. For all that, during the second World War American industry grew rapidly, became inflated and began to yield enormous profits to the capitalists and state revenues, which American state monopoly capitalism is putting into circulation and applying to exert pressure everywhere in Europe and China, in Greece and Turkey, in South America and in the Middle East.

Certainly there are not a few who like to make use of a war situation.

* * *

This by no means justifies calculations on the possibility of avoiding growing internal difficulties, of averting the advance of a profound economic crisis and the ever intensifying split of the United States into two main groupings: the imperialist grouping, which—at the moment—is making a lot of noise in the foreground, and the democratic grouping, which holds the future.

The appetites of the imperialists know no bounds. For the sake of achieving their narrow aims, they are ready to trample under foot democratic rights in their own country and also the rights and sovereignty of other states.

The lessons of the downfall of fascist Germany, which trampled on the democratic forces and exceeded all bounds in its striving for world domination, as one can see, taught nothing to those who now, with such blindness, are tearing after the domination of the whole world.

Today the ruling circles of the United States and Great Britain head one international grouping, which has as its aim the consolidation of capitalism and the achievement of the dominations of these countries over other peoples. These countries are headed by imperialist and anti-democratic forces in international affairs, with the active participation of certain Socialist leaders in several European states.

The policy of the Soviet Union is based on opposite principles, on the principle of respect for the sovereignty of all states, big and small, on the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states.

GERMANY

Take, for example, the German question. If in the post-war period America and Britain had adhered to all the principles—let us say, for example, the democratic principles—of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences on the German question, which made possible and fruitful the collaboration of the great Allies against Hitlerite Germany, with the aim of liquidating the remnants of fascism, then collaboration between the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain would also today produce good results.

But the United States and Britain have departed from these democratic principles and have violated the decisions jointly taken. This can be said with regard to such radical questions as the democratization and demilitarization of Germany, and the payment of reparations to countries which suffered from German occupation.

As a result of post-war Anglo-American policy the British and American zones of occupation of Germany were united into a jointly administered bi-zonal territory—which has been given the name of "Bi-zonia" in the press—so that an Anglo-American policy could be unilaterally carried out there independently of the Control Council, in which representatives of all four occupying powers participate.

Our representatives in Germany are today virtually concerned only with the Soviet zone. A situation has arisen which cannot but produce alarm among the German people also,

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since, as the result of the Anglo-American policy, there exists the joint zone and other zones, but there is no Germany, no single German state.

The Soviet Union considers it necessary that the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences on the German question, decisions which provided for the restoration of Germany as a single, democratic state, should be put into effect. Moreover, in the Soviet Union it is entirely understood that the joint zone is not Germany and that the German people has a right to the existence of its own state, which, it goes without saying, must be a democratic state and must not create the threat of new aggression for other peace-loving states.

DOMINATION OF EUROPE

At the present time there exists the Anglo-American plan—by giving some alms to calm the population of the Anglo-American zone of Germany—for basing themselves here on the former capitalists who were recently the Hitlerite support, and for utilizing with their aid the joint zone with its Ruhr industrial basin as a threat against those countries which do not display slavish submissiveness with regard to the Anglo-American plans for domination in Europe.

* * *

The Soviet Union, in common with other democratic states, stands for peace and international collaboration on democratic principles. Under present conditions, this demands the uniting of all forces of the anti-imperialist and democratic camp in Europe and beyond the boundaries of Europe, so that an insurmountable barrier shall be created against imperialism, which is becoming more active, and against its new policy of aggression.

The rallying of democratic forces and courageous struggle against imperialism in its new plans for war adventures will unite the peoples into a powerful army, the equal of which cannot be possessed by imperialism, which denies the democratic rights of the people, infringing on the sovereignty of the nations and basing its plans on threats and adventures.

* * *

What can the policy of imperialism offer people? Nothing but strengthening of oppression, the rebirth of the vestiges of hated fascism and imperialistic adventures.

On entering that thirty-first year of the great October Socialist revolution we look back on the path traversed with satisfaction. The successes of the Soviet state are great. Socialism has deeply entered into our whole life. Under the conditions of Soviet power a new generation has already grown up which is beginning to spread its eagle wings.

The Soviet people now are no longer the same as they were 30 years ago. The moral character of modern Soviet people is to be seen above all in their conscious attitude to labor as a matter of social importance and a sacred obligation to the Soviet state. In our days there are Stakhanovite men and Stakhanovite women. Socialist emulation is in progress in all collective farms. Men and women workers, men and women collective farmers, office employes and the technical engineering staffs, people of art and science are drawn into the cause of emulation. The scope, breadth and content of emulation now determine the Communist attitude to labor here and there already reached among Soviet people. The universal character of emulation is the most important lever for raising the productivity of labor.

One cannot deny that the vestiges of capitalism are extremely persistent in people's consciousness, and, therefore, the party constantly reminds the Soviet people of the necessity of thoroughgoing criticism and self-criticism, directed toward the elimination of those harmful vestiges of the past. One cannot deny, on the other hand, that at present we have immense possibilities for waging a successful struggle for the elimination of these vestiges.

There is no other country in the world where the Soviet Union has not got numerous friends among the working class, the working peasants and in wide democratic circles—friends imbued with warm sympathy and faith in our cause.

That is why today, on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Soviet revolution, our October banner waves so proudly, the victorious banner of Lenin and Stalin.

Thirty years have elapsed since the October events in 1917. Both then and subsequently our enemies from the bourgeois camp proph-

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esied that the Soviet power would not hold power, that it was doomed to inevitable and early downfall. The Bolsheviks were not frightened by these prophecies and boldly moved into battle to seize power for the working class.

And, having broken down the oppression of the capitalist system, it has now for 30 years already been building the Socialist state with victorious success, building a new society on the basis of communism.

The path traversed by us should be divided into three periods: the first period is that from the victory of Soviet power to the beginning of the second imperialist war; the second period is that of the years of the great patriotic war; the third period is that which has only just begun, the years of post-war reconstructions.

Since the beginning of last year we have been working on the basis of the new post-war five-year plan. Comrade Stalin has outlined our new tasks. The basic tasks of the new five-year plan consist in the restoration of the districts which suffered from war, restoring the pre-war level of production and agriculture, and then surpassing that level to a more or less considerable degree.

The tasks put forward by the party and the government, the restoration and raising of the national economy, have inspired our people to new heroic efforts and feats of labor.

The beginning of the new five-year plan was hard for our agriculture owing to the drought, which in the past year hit the most important agricultural districts.

However, our country's capacity to overcome the economic difficulties promptly it has to face is well known. It is again demonstrated by the fact that, thanks to the measures undertaken by the party and the government, the gross grain harvest this year is 58 per cent more than last year.

During 1946, the first year of the post-war five-year plan, we had already witnessed a great growth in industrial production. However, last year's plan was fulfilled by industry only by 96 per cent, inasmuch as reconversion to work in peaceful conditions was not yet completed.

This year, on the other hand, Soviet industry is overfulfilling the plan. In the first three-quarters of the current year the nine months' plan was fulfilled by industry by 103 per cent.

All this gives ground to say that the underfulfilled part of the first year of the five-year plan, and thus the plan of the first two years of the five-year plan, will be completed as a whole by the end of the current year.

INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT

We are confidently moving forward in all spheres of industry and agriculture, as well as in transport, although before us is still a great deal of uncompleted work in repairing the wounds and damage inflicted by the war.

We are already extracting more coal than pre-war, but the restoration of metallurgy and oil-extraction is not yet up to the mark.

The restoration and development of all branches of industry which produce consumer goods and foodstuffs are proceeding.

Industrial output is rising with every month. Suffice it to say that in the month of October alone, which has only just ended, our gross output of big industry has already reached the average monthly output of 1940.

Thus the output of our industry has already reached the pre-war level.

We are not threatened by the economic crisis—so ruinous for industry—without which not a single capitalist country can live. We have not, nor will we have, unemployment and the impoverishment of the population connected with it.

Today a new movement has become widespread, the distinctive feature of which is that individual workers undertake personally obligations to fulfill annual plans and the five-year plan ahead of schedule, which did not happen in the pre-war period.

This year, the fulfillment of the plan for grain deliveries is being achieved ahead of schedule. The state will receive approximately as much grain as in the best pre-war years, although the size of the sown area and technical equipment are still considerably lower than before the war.

These successes are being achieved thanks to the launching of Socialist emulation between republics, territories and regions, and particularly thanks to the active participation in emulation at all existing collective farms of

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many millions of men and women collective farmers.

Bourgeois hacks abroad forecast during the war that the Soviet people, having acquainted themselves in their war campaigns with the system and culture of the West and having visited many towns and European capitals, would return home with a desire to establish the same system at home.

But what happened? Demobilized men and officers, after their return home, have set about with even greater ardor to strengthen collective farms, to develop Socialist emulation in factories and mills, placing themselves in the front ranks of Soviet patriots.

Not all our people have freed themselves from groveling and servility before the West, before capitalist culture.

Without freeing oneself from these vestiges, one cannot be a true Soviet citizen. That is why the Soviet people are imbued with such a resolute striving to do away more quickly with those vestiges of the past, to pass merciless criticism on every display of groveling and servility before the West and its capitalistic culture.

Like the sun on a clear day the ideas of Marxism-Leninism illuminated our path through all these 30 years. Our advance was based on the tactics of Lenin and Stalin. Our path has not been an easy one. The enemy operated from without and within. The enemy had its agents even in the Bolshevik party, in the shape of Trotskyists, right-wing and other traitors.

The Bolshevik party, created by Lenin and Stalin, emerged from all those trials strengthened, purged its ranks and became consolidated as a great force which constitutes the highest expression of the moral-political unity of our people, marching confidently to Communist society, and which, under the leadership of the great Stalin, is now showing the path to universal peace, to liberation from sanguinary wars, the path to the overthrow of capitalist slavery. . . .

MR. MARSHALL

The American people, I believe, have a sound understanding of the basic principles and objectives of our foreign policy.

These have been expressed on many occasions by responsible officials of this government, beginning with the President. They are understandable, I believe, to you all because they have their origin in the American conscience and in the deeply rooted traditions of our people.

No American, I am sure, questions the desirability of this country promoting wherever it can the right of people to govern themselves and the rule of impartial law as against the exercise of arbitrary power. These principles require no elaboration. But, true as they are, such generalities do not always serve to clarify for our people the current problems with which we are now faced.

They do not in themselves answer the question, "what is it all about?" They do not in themselves provide an answer as to why at almost every turn we find ourselves in disagreement with another power with whom we were so recently allied in the common cause.

I shall confine myself to the problems relating to one area of the world which at the moment are occupying the attention of the administration and the Congress and with which in another aspect I shall be dealing at the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers. That is the related problem of the revival of the European community and the peace settlements with Germany and Austria.

In my statement before the committees of Congress on November 10, I laid great stress on the entity known as Europe and its importance to the world and to the United States in particular. So important to the understanding of our present problem is the meaning of the European community that at the expense of repetition I will restate it.

MEANING OF EUROPE

Europe, or what through centuries has been known as Europe, is a community of nations which, despite racial and religious differences, commercial rivalries, and sporadic internecine wars, has developed governmental procedures and an advanced civilization. We are a part of that civilization. Our national traditions—the foundation on which our entire civilization rests—find their counterpart,

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if not their origin, in some part of this European community.

Europe is a natural grouping of states designed by geography and history to function as a community if it is to function well. Because of the character of its people, the nations comprising the European community function harmoniously and effectively only if they are permitted to operate of their own free will. The logic of history would appear to dictate the necessity of this community drawing closer together not only for its own survival, but for the stability, prosperity and peace of the entire world.

Due to the Nazi attempt to subjugate the entire European community, Europe was plunged into a great war. The central question that arose at the end of this war was in effect what was to be the future of this European community. Was it to be restored to a position of stability so it could work out its own problem, or was it to be kept in a state of permanent dependency and eventual absorption into a system alien to its traditions and civilization?

GOAL OF RESTORATION

It is generally recognized that the major responsibility for finally crushing nazism devolved upon three Powers, none of which can be strictly classed as a continental European state. The efforts of two of these Powers have been consistently directed since the military victory toward the restoration of the European community to its former status. They have been so directed partly out of compassion but primarily, I think, because they recognized the historical fact that a revived, revitalized Europe is necessary to a peaceful and prosperous world order.

For centuries Europe occupied a pre-eminent position and exercised a dominant influence in international affairs. Before the recent war it was one of the two highly industrialized areas on earth and enjoyed a correspondingly high standard of living. Today, Europe is devastated and dispirited, but once it regains strength and confidence it will draw on its store of resources, energies, skills, and spiritual qualities and again make major contributions to world progress. This is the goal of those who are genuinely devoted to the cause of European recovery.

Unfortunately, it has become apparent that the third Great Power which contributed so much to the common victory evidently does not share that purpose. For reasons that are still obscure, it is endeavoring apparently to prolong the present unsatisfactory state of affairs indefinitely. If this purpose prevails, obviously the prosperous European community we knew before the war cannot be re-established within the foreseeable future.

This brings me to an important conclusion. It is this divergence of purpose concerning the future of Europe which is the cause of many of the present differences between the United States and Soviet Russia. The divergence is not due to any direct clash between the national interests of these powers.

It is my belief that if Europe is restored as a solvent and vigorous community, this issue will have been decided and the disturbing conflict between ourselves and the Soviets, in so far as Europe is concerned, will lessen.

It seems evident that as regards European recovery, the enlightened self-interest of the United States coincides with the best interest of Europe itself and of all those who desire to see conflicts of whatever nature resolved, so that the world can devote its full attention and energy to the progressive improvement of the well-being of mankind. The place to begin that process is Europe.

I have referred to the fact that Europe formerly stood as a strong and constructive element of the world's economy and political order. Its trade, both among the European countries themselves and with other regions, was a major fact in the international exchange of commodities and services and was a direct stimulus to productivity throughout the world. The stabilizing influence which Europe as a concert of independent nations exercised on the remainder of the world was a basic factor in assuring the security of our own nation —a fact which we acknowledged by twice committing our total resources to the preservation of the integrity of the continental community, free of single-power domination.

The near collapse of Europe has left weakness where once there was strength and has created in effect a political and economic vacuum. It is certainly not our purpose to exploit the situation by filling the vacuum with

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American power. The map of Europe today bears witness to our true intentions. West of the line where the Allied Armies met, nations in their own way are grappling with their post-war problems, each in accordance with its distinctive institutions and traditions, free of external pressure.

AIM OF UNITED STATES

The proposal of the United States to assist in the recovery of the nations that responded to the suggestion of June 5, has no purpose other than to restore Europe as a self-supporting community of states and to terminate as speedily as possible dependence upon us for aid. It is unfortunate that only 16 European states felt free to participate in the Paris Conference on Economic Cooperation. This government is willing to cooperate with every nation that pledges a generous effort to the common cause of European recovery.

We are now intimately working to this end with governments of varied political complexions—some constitutional monarchies and some republics. Both with Socialist ministers, some controlled by conservative elements, and some constituted of coalitions. This is a fact that everyone can see, and it should dispel completely the propagandistic assertions that we seek to impose the American pattern on others.

Much has been said about the various freedoms, about democracy, about the right of people and of nations to determine for themselves without restraint the forms of government they desire. Much has also been said regarding the desire of the United States government to influence other nations to follow what we believe we follow with constantly increasing success—that is, a philosophy of government dedicated to the freedom and welfare of the individual. That is our earnest desire. It is certainly not imperialistic and it does not indicate a passion for war.

We realize that we cannot expect the same conceptions to be held by all countries. Different races, different traditions, different histories and rates of development lead to different results, but on fundamentals I think we find a general agreement among peoples the world around.

If the United States entertained any idea of extending American influence or domination over Europe, our policy would not be directed toward ending European dependency upon this country, but toward perpetuating that relationship. The clarity of the record and of our intentions, however, has not prevented Soviet officials and Communist groups elsewhere from waging with increasing venom a calculated campaign of vilification and distortion of American motives in foreign affairs. These opponents of recovery charge the United States with imperialist design, aggressive purposes, and finally with a desire to provoke a third world war.

I wish to state emphatically that there is no truth whatsoever in these charges, and I add that those who make them are fully aware of this fact.

What is the record? We have annexed no territory. We have not used the greatest military power and military resources ever assembled to acquire for the United States a special privileged position, either political or economic. Furthermore, since the close of hostilities the United States and Great Britain have voluntarily reduced the area of their sovereignty in the world. Colonial areas and dependent people have been assisted to achieve full independence. New countries have emerged from under the United States and British flags to take their place as members of the United Nations.

While the Western democracies have been reducing the area of their sovereignty, one country has taken the opposite road. The Soviet Union has in effect considerably expanded her frontiers. Since 1939 she has de facto annexed territory comprising an area of more than 280,000 square miles, with a population of some 22,000,000 people.

The American proposal for assistance to Europe is directed toward production, construction, and recovery. It is a genuinely cooperative undertaking, which is being worked out in an atmosphere of mutual trust and with careful regard for the sovereignty of nations. Indeed, this joint endeavor by the United States and 16 European states is a clear and convincing demonstration of cooperation freely given, to achieve the common good. As such, it perfectly reflects one of the basic precepts of democracy.

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This government recognizes that elements of uncertainty are involved in so vast and complex an undertaking. But we believe that the promise of success more than justifies the risks. We are completely convinced that the risks of not attempting to restore Europe are far greater than those involved in taking positive action as now proposed. We recognize that our people will be called upon to share their goods still in short supply and will have to forego filling a portion of their own requirements until the greater needs of Europe have been met.

This is a direct contradiction of the allegation that we are seeking to dump surplus goods in Europe in order to avoid the depressing effects of over-supply. This particular charge of "dumping" must have a strange sound to those Europeans now desperately seeking the very essentials of life. And it must sound equally odd to Americans who are standing with money in hand impatient to buy goods which we are sending to Europe to meet a more urgent need. But such is the breath of propaganda.

PROPAGANDA

I should like in this connection to make a few comments regarding propaganda in general and particularly with regard to the debates and procedure of the United Nations Assembly.

During the meeting of the United Nations Assembly there was a great deal said, with considerable vituperation, regarding the attitude of the Government and people of the United States toward the Soviet Union, along with the direct accusation that a war spirit was being fomented by our press and by distinguished citizens who were named.

A portion of this, the major portion I assume, was intended for pure propaganda purposes. But I also assume that there may have been some genuine feeling that the purposes of this government and the attitude of most of the American press were definitely hostile to the Soviet Union. As a responsible official of the United States government I would like to see more restraint than is sometimes exhibited in discussions of international issues.

But as regards the critical attitude recently manifested in this country toward the Soviet Union, I should like to distinguish between this effect and its cause. To determine that cause it is necessary to go back at least as far as the summer of 1945, immediately following the German surrender.

At that time I think it was a fact that the people of the United States had as high a regard, or I might better put it, appreciation, for the Soviet people and their sacrifices, and for the Soviet Army and its leaders, as they held for any other people in the world. But today, only two years later, we are charged with a definite hostility toward the Soviet Union and its people, which constitutes a complete change in our attitude since the summer of 1945.

I recognized this effect. I would not characterize it as hostile. But the important question is, what produced this tremendous change in our national feeling and attitude? The truth as I see it is that from the termination of hostilities down to the present time the Soviet government has consistently followed a course which was bound to arouse the resentment of our people.

Just what the purpose of this remarkable procedure has been, particularly during 1946, I have been at a loss to determine. So many of the actions of that government were provocative without any other evident purpose. I have endeavored to find at least a partial explanation in the historical characteristics of the Russian government and its officials through a long period of years and not solely related to the present regime.

While some light can thus be cast on the problem it does not, even in a small way, explain why a government should proceed with apparent deliberation to destroy the invaluable asset of high regard and good-will which it possessed in the attitude of the American people and why it should deliberately provoke such animosities as are evident at this time.

The people of this country are God-fearing people. They have been very patient in their attitude toward misrepresentation of their actions and motives when their only purpose has been to help the other fellow. Today our people have been virtually driven into a state of active resentment and, having been goaded

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to this point, they are accused of having lighted and stoked this great fire of public resentment. This last is propaganda, yes, of the most brazen and contemptuous character. But since it affects the very stability of the world, it is time to call a halt to such inflammatory practices.

I am not pessimistic regarding the progress made by the United Nations during the recent Assembly meeting. The fact that the world has a forum for free debate is in itself a hopeful portent for the future. The fact that debates have sometimes included more of vituperation and of diatribe than of logic or adherence to the facts was unfortunate, but in the long run, I think, merely incidental, and an always present possibility in any democratic debate. The organization did pass through a serious struggle, but I think it emerged without loss of potential strength.

GERMAN REVIVAL

The problem of restoring the European community inevitably raises in acute form the problem of Germany. The restoration of Europe involves the restoration of Germany. Without a revival of German production there can be no revival of Europe's economy. But we must be very careful to see that a revived Germany could not again threaten the European community.

I am not speaking of the revival of Germany in a military sense. There can be no question of the absolute necessity of keeping Germany disarmed and demilitarized. Today, Germany is completely disarmed. Measures have been proposed by the United States and supported by the United Kingdom and France to insure the continued demilitarization of Germany for 40 years. Thus far the Soviet Union has, in effect, rejected that proposal, by wholesale amendments of its purpose; but the offer still stands.

The revival of German militarism, however, is not the only important factor involved in the relationship of Germany to a restored Europe. There is an imperative necessity for safeguards to insure that the economic power of Germany shall not be used by a future German government as a weapon for the furtherance of exclusively German policies. This poses admittedly a complicated and difficult problem. An attempt artificially to limit German peace-time economy could easily prevent the essential revival of German production to an extent that would render impossible the economic revival of Europe.

The answer to the problem would appear to relate primarily to the future rôle and functioning of the great industrial complex in the Ruhr. The United States believes that safeguards must be set up to insure that the resources and industrial potential of the Ruhr, particularly in respect of coal and steel, should not be left under the exclusive control of any future German government but should be used for the benefit of the European community as a whole.

The charge has frequently been made that the United States, in its policy, has sought to give priority or intends to give priority to restoration of Germany ahead of those of the other countries of Europe. The truth is that far from having been accorded a preference over any Allied country, German recovery has lagged so far behind that of the other countries of Europe as to retard the whole effort for European recovery.

At the present time industrial production in Western Germany is less than one-half that of pre-war. The food supplies are seriously below the minimum requirement for health and efficiency and German foreign trade is only a small fraction of its former dimension. In fairness to the American taxpayer who has been contributing hundreds of millions of dollars annually to support the people in the American zone, Germany must be made self-supporting as quickly as possible.

With safeguards against any revival of German militarism and with measures to assure the utilization of the basic products of the Ruhr for the good of the European community as a whole, I believe that Europe and the world will be adequately protected against the danger of future German domination. In these circumstances it should be possible to proceed to the establishment of a provisional central authority in a federated German state and to the final framing of a peace settlement. We shall earnestly endeavor at the conference in London to make progress along these lines.

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CONGRESS DEBATES:

Interim Aid for Europe

The compromise Senate-House bill to provide $540 million interim aid for Europe and China was passed by Congress on December 19, 1947, almost a month to the day it was summoned in special session to deal with the European emergency. To Arthur Vandenberg, Republican Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, must go full credit for expediting the administration's program. Introducing the bill in the Senate with a now historic plea for Europe, Mr. Vandenberg continually kept the goal of the program—90-day stop-gap aid—before the eyes of the Senators.

Although both he and Mr. Connally emphasized the fact that a vote for interim aid was *not* a vote for the over-all "Marshall Plan," they had difficulty in convincing their colleagues. The two programs are, of course, inter-related, and in the arguments brought against the interim aid bill, we may see the outline of opposition to the larger European Recovery Program to come: inflationary effects on our domestic economy; necessity for re-imposition of war-time controls; inadequate supervision of program; internal sovereignty of European nations concerned; black markets in Europe; socialist governments abroad; protection of private commercial interests in this country such as shipping.

FORUM presents excerpts from this historic debate in the Senate.[1]

Mr. WHITE, Republican, of Maine. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 1774, the European interim aid bill, so-called.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 1774) to promote the general welfare, national interest, and foreign policy of the United States by providing supplies to certain European countries on an emergency basis, which was read, as follows:

THE BILL

Be it enacted, etc., That this act may be cited as the "European Interim Aid Act of 1947."

SEC. 2. It is the purpose of this act to provide immediate assistance in the form of food, fuel, and other commodities urgently needed by the peoples of Austria, France, and Italy, hereinafter referred to as the recipient countries, to alleviate conditions of intolerable hunger and cold and prevent serious economic retrogression which would jeopardize any general European economic recovery program based on self-help and cooperation.

SEC. 3. The President, acting through such departments, agencies, or independent establishments of the Government as he shall direct, may, by allocation of funds to any such departments, agencies, or independent establishments, or by making funds available to the government of a recipient country, whenever he finds it in furtherance of the purposes of this act and upon the terms and conditions set forth in this act and upon such other terms and conditions as he may determine—

(a) procure, or provide funds for the procurement from any source, food, seed, and fertilizer; coal, petroleum, and petroleum products; other fuel; fibers; pesticides; medical supplies; and such commodities as the President finds are necessary for the accomplishment of the purposes of this act as set forth in section 2;

(b) transport and store, or provide funds for transportation and storage of, such commodities;

(c) transfer such commodities to any recipient country;

(d) incur and defray expenses, including accessorial and administrative expenses and expenses for compensation and travel of personnel for carrying out the purposes of this act.

SEC. 4. (a) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated not to exceed $597,000,000, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to carry out the provisions and accomplish the purposes of this act. This act, however, shall not imply any obligation to give assistance to any of the countries mentioned nor shall it imply or guarantee the availability of any specific commodities.

[1] *Congressional Record, Senate,* Vol. 93, No. 151, pp. 10808-10814, 10815-10816, 10818-10825; No. 152, pp. 10939-10940; No. 153, pp. 11010-11015, 11018.

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(b) Funds authorized under this act, when allocated to any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government, shall be available for obligation and expenditure in accordance with the laws governing obligations and expenditures of such department, agency, or independent establishment or organizational unit thereof concerned, and without regard to sections 3709 and 3648 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (41 U. S. C. 5; 31 U. S. C. 529).

SEC. 5. After March 31, 1948, no funds may be obligated for the procurement of commodities provided for under this act. It is further provided that no more than 25 per cent of the amount herein authorized shall be used for the procurement of supplies outside the United States and its Territories and possessions. The procurement of petroleum and petroleum products shall, to the maximum extent practicable, be made from petroleum sources outside of the United States.

SEC. 6. Before any commodities or funds are made available to any recipient country under the authority of section 3 of this act, an agreement shall be entered into, pursuant to the limitations and provisions of section 4 of this act, between such country and the United States containing, in such detail as practicable, an undertaking by such country—

(a) to make efficient use of any commodities made available under the authority of this act and to take insofar as possible the economic measures necessary to increase its ability to achieve a self-sustaining economy;

(b) to the extent that supplies procured with funds authorized under this act are not furnished on terms of repayment in dollars, they shall be furnished only upon condition that the government of the receiving country agree that when it sells such supplies for local currency (a) the amounts of such local currency will be deposited by it in a special account; (b) such account will be used within such country, as a revolving fund, until June 30, 1942, only for such purposes as may be agreed to between such country and the Government of the United States, for relief and work relief purposes, including local currency expenses of the United States incident to the furnishing of assistance; and (c) any unencumbered balance remaining in such account on June 30, 1948, will be disposed of within such country for such purposes as may be agreed between such country and the Government of the United States subject to approval by act or joint resolution of the Congress;

(c) to give full and continuous publicity within such country, so as to inform the ultimate consumers, as to the purpose, source, character, and amounts of commodities made available by the United States under this act;

(d) to furnish promptly upon request of the President information concerning the method of distribution and use of commodities made available under this act;

(e) to make available to its people at reasonable prices, consistent with economic conditions in the recipient country, such commodities as it may sell under the terms of this act;

(f) to make all possible efforts to secure the maximum production and distribution of locally produced supplies, and not to permit any measures to be taken involving sale, distribution, or use of any articles of the character covered in this act which would reduce the locally produced supply of such articles or the utilization of foreign sources of supply other than the United States;

(g) not to export or permit removal from such country, while need therefor continues, of commodities made available to such country under this act or such commodities produced locally or imported from outside sources;

(h) to permit representatives of the Government of the United States to observe and report on the distribution among the people of such country with respect to the commodities transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this act.

SEC. 7. The President shall promptly terminate the provision of assistance under this act for any country whenever he determines (a) that such country is not adhering to the terms of its agreement entered into in accordance with section 6 of this act; or (b) whenever he finds, by reason of changed conditions, that the provision of assistance authorized by this act is no longer necessary or desirable.

SEC. 8. All commodities made available pursuant to this act or the containers of such commodities shall, to the extent practicable, be marked, stamped, branded, or labeled in a conspicuous place as legibly, indelibly, and permanently as the nature of such commodities or containers will permit, in such manner as to indicate to the people of the country of destination that such commodities have been furnished or made available by the United States.

SEC. 9. The President shall take appropriate steps to encourage other countries to make available to recipient countries such assistance as they may be able to furnish.

SEC. 10. The President may, from time to time, promulgate such rules and regulations as he may find necessary and proper to carry out any of the provisions of this act; and he may delegate to the Secretary of State or any other official or officials of the Government any of the powers or authority conferred on him under this act. In accordance with the direction of the President, the responsibility for administering in Europe the program of assistance provided for in this act shall be vested in the field administrator of the United States foreign-relief program appointed pursuant to section 4 of the act of May 31, 1947, providing for relief assistance to the devastated areas. The provisions of this act relating to United States supervision, control, or observation of distribution of supplies made available under this act shall not apply to distribution of supplies in Austria: *Provided*, That the President shall have determined, upon recommendation of the United States High Commissioner for Austria, that supplies furnished to Austria hereunder are being distributed under

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control systems embodied in agreements between the High Commissioner and the other occupying authorities or the Austrian Government which assure compliance with the objectives of the occupation and with the provisions of this act which are consistent therewith.

SEC. 11. Personnel employed to carry out the purposes of this act shall not be included in computing limitations on personnel established pursuant to the Federal Employees Pay Act of 1945 (59 Stat. 298), as amended by section 14 of the Federal Employees Pay Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 219).

SEC. 12. The President, from time to time, but not less frequently than once every calendar quarter, and until the end of the quarterly period after all operations under the authority of this act have been completed, shall transmit to the Congress a report of operations under this act. Reports provided for under this section shall be transmitted to the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House of Representatives, if the Senate or the House of Representatives, as the case may be, is not in session.

SEC. 13. If any provisions of this act or the application of such provision to any circumstance shall be held invalid, the validity of the remainder of the act and the applicability of such provision to other circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

* * *

Mr. VANDENBERG, Republican, of Michigan. Mr. President, I have an earnest desire to do two things today. I am very anxious to answer all the questions which may be directed toward me in the course of this discussion, but I think it would be helpful if I were permitted to make my initial presentation without interruption, for the sake of continuity.

Mr. President, I present to the Senate the bill for interim aid to France, Italy, and Austria in their battle against winter hunger and winter cold and against the lurking tyranny which feeds upon such disaster. The original text has been amended in numerous important particulars, as will be evidenced by the accompanying committee report. I present the amended text in one clean bill for the greater convenience of the Senate. It is unanimously recommended by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations after public hearings and scrupulous study. The bill is further recommended, in my opinion, by its appeal, one, to traditional American humanities; two, by its unescapable necessity if western Europe is to preserve a free chance to order its own liberty; and, three, by the unavoidable American self-interest in a free, solvent, and peaceful world.

I know and share the anxieties of other Senators in connection with all these foreign-aid programs. I know and share their disappointments regarding some previous programs that have gone wrong. I know and share their conviction that we must vigilantly guard our own resources against fatal drain. I shall undertake to speak frankly about these things. I shall also undertake to make it plain that Senators can support this bill without any sort of a commitment to any other relief programs which Congress may subsequently confront. Then I shall prove, I prayerfully believe, that the bill is worthy of that degree of Senate support which the unanimous report of your committee bespeaks for it.

But, Mr. President, before I deal with the bill I want—just speaking for myself—to linger for a few brief moments on the general background against which legislation of this character must be judged, in my opinion, if we shall be faithful to our own national welfare.

Mr. President, in close cooperation with our brave allies, emphatically including Soviet Russia, which rendered heroic effort to the common cause, we won a complete military victory against Axis aggression in World War II. The victory was repeatedly and specifically dedicated by all of us to a just peace that would insure maximum self-determination for free men in a free world. This unequivocal pledge was taken by every Allied power. There were no vetoes and no abstentions. Those who either violate or evade this pledge will repudiate the most sacred obligation ever written in the blood and tears of martyrs. Worse, they will dissipate the victory, lose the peace, and hazard their own destiny. This goes for every capital on earth. It goes for Washington. It goes equally for Moscow.

Peace on any other basis would be a grim affront to the sacrifice of those who died for an ideal. It would be a slumbering shambles. It would threaten free society. It would threaten the United States. In this fore-shortened world, in which science does its best to do its worst, peace on any other basis would be no more than an uneasy truce which,

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through miscalculation of the tenacity of our own ideals, might light the guns again. That must not occur.

But we must face the facts. This international unity which won the war and which pledged these ideals has fallen apart. A new type of Communist aggression is on the march. In the United Nations, which is still the world's best bridge across this ominous gap, this new aggression often boycotts what it cannot defeat or veto. It operates not only through ruthless pressures on often terrorized satellites, it operates through internal subversion and sabotage in other lands where its trained and disciplined minorities faithfully contribute to the chaos and confusion which encourage Communist conquest. When 16 western European nations join in a cooperative plan to restore their self-reliant stabilities in a pattern of their own free choice, communism, which had an equal invitation to participate and refused, promptly and angrily repudiates the enterprise, swiftly proceeds to the rival and ruthless expansion of its police-state jurisdictions, and frankly organizes the equivalent of a new Comintern with the announced purpose of wrecking Western Europe's hopes. And there seems to be ample evidence that the wrecking crews already have been turned loose.

COMMUNISM

All this proceeds, Mr. President, under cover of the most viciously unfair propaganda which ever belabored the ears of the world. Communism hides behind charges that America is guilty of "economic imperialism" because we respond to the pleas of our friends for aid in their extremity—precisely as we have previously responded, with well-nigh prodigal abandon, to previous pleas for aid from those who now revile us. We are said to be "economic aggressors"—we who seek no reparations, no booty, no territory—we who protest the intolerant appetites of others in these respects.

We are said to be "warmongers"—we who demobilized so fast that our viewpoints may have been unfortunately misunderstood by those who still count their armed divisions by the hundreds—we who, possessing atomic bombs, unsuccessfully beg our critics to join us in dependably outlawing atomic warfare everywhere forever. It is a fantastic libel.

What this tragically dividing world needs above all else is an agreement upon what is truth; and, as I said upon another occasion, we should be prepared, with others, to obey, in this connection, the scriptural injunction regarding motes and beams. In the absence of truth, however, we are blind not to take warning of the potential consequences. I speak of the rift this afternoon for just one purpose; namely, to assert, with total conviction, that it would be a defiance of all logic and a desertion of all statesmanship to deny that these events have a direct impact upon the status of our own United States. That being so, we have a direct self-interest in doing everything within our peaceful power to sustain democratic freedoms, based on self-determination, in other lands.

But let us so clearly identify this "self-interest," Mr. President, that no honest man can misunderstand. It is not conquest. It is not dominion. It is not dictation of a way of life to others. It is not any sort of war—either "cold" or "hot"—with anybody. It is the "self-interest" which knows there can be no peace for us or anybody else which does not stem from justice. It is the "self-interest" which knows that this precious thing called western civilization is a common asset which we cannot indefinitely preserve alone. It is the "self-interest" which knows that we cannot indefinitely prosper in a broken world. It is the "self-interest" which knows that any "world revolution" would rate America as the top-prize scalp.

So, Mr. President, my plea is that we recognize, with an equivalent determination, that the keeping of the peace is just as important to us as the winning of a war. In that spirit, we can be comparably invincible. There is no danger of our failure to recognize the national interest when we are forced to defend ourselves in war. I shall never forget, for example, that on the afternoon of June 29, 1944, this Senate, without even stopping for a roll-call vote, unanimously passed one military appropriation bill for $59,034,839,673. And the House passed it by a vote of 344 to 0. I draw no present analogy. There is none between peace and a war regime. Further-

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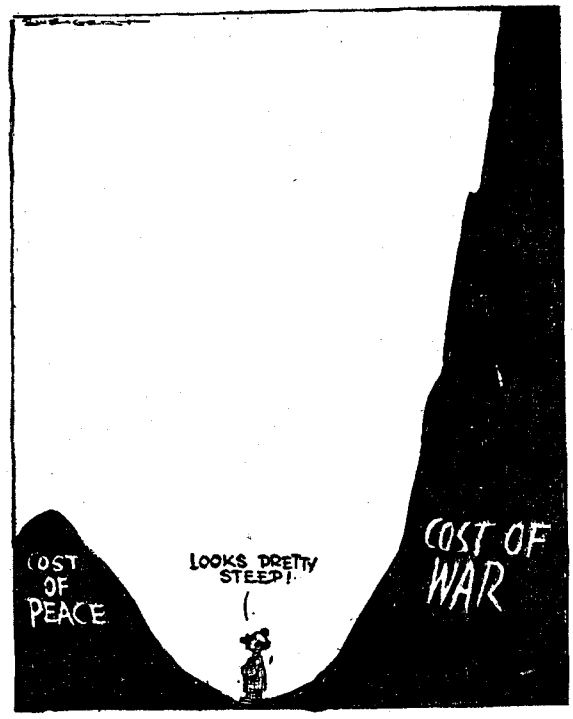
more, peace and liberty are not for sale. They grow in the hearts and souls of men. They need wisdom long before and long after they need cash. I am simply saying that intelligent American self-interest equally serves the national interest if we can readily grip the concept, with our typical tenacity, that peace investments in this splitting world may relatively be the best of God-blessed bargains. I am saying that the stakes are just as great on November 24, 1947, this afternoon, as they were on June 29, 1944, when we appropriated $59,000,000,000 in one uncontested shot, even though the situations are expressed in different terms.

By all means, Mr. President, let us be realists. As realists we must look to a wholly adequate armed defense until such time as dependable alternatives have proven their reliability. As realists we must ever guard our own resources against suicidal depletions. As realists we must zealously protect our own solvency. As realists we must protect our peace aids against exploitation, mismanagement and waste. As realists we know we cannot underwrite the world. As realists we must, at long last, get down to brass tacks in all these aspects. As realists we must know the total balance sheet. As realists we know these postwar recuperations must embrace Germany—permanently demilitarized—and the Far East. We must be hard boiled, if you please, when we face all of these calculated risks. But, as in the instant case, let us, with equal zeal, equal candor, and equal purpose, consider the calculated risks—not as sentimentalists but as realists—the calculated risks to us if we turn our backs upon our foreign friends and let them sink for want of aid which might have kept them alive and free.

I quote the quiet but impressive eloquence of Ambassador Douglas speaking a few days ago before our committee:

> One has to measure the risks implicit in the program with the risks of doing nothing. While there are risks in undertaking the program, there are incalculably greater risks to the United States in doing nothing. * * * I think it is impossible to expect that the standards of living (in Europe) will be such that the traditional freedoms and liberties that have characterized that part of the world can be preserved. I think it is unrealistic to expect, doing nothing, that the political institutions from which we derive at least some elements of our own can long survive. I think it is almost a certainty that if we do nothing, such chaos, disorder, and confusion will exist that men's minds will take hold of queer ideas hostile to their own traditions and inimical to ours. In a Western World the consequences to us can be profound. The cost to us may be expressed in an incalculable number of billions of dollars. It may be expressed in impairments of our own historic free institutions. So it seems to me that our vital national interests are deeply concerned.



Sweigert in *The San Francisco Chronicle*
"Look Behind You!"

I wish to make it entirely plain that this is my own view. With the greatest respect for those who disagree with this premise, I can only assert my own deep belief that American rejection of this concept may only postpone an ultimate conflict which otherwise need never occur, and which never should be allowed to occur.

Now, Mr. President, let us come directly to the pending bill. I want to make it plain that the Senate is not confronting in this pending vote any sort of an obligation to other and subsequent relief programs of greater magnitude. The only question here—and there are no other implications—is interim, emergency aid for France, Italy, and Austria for the period ending March 31, 1948.

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It is not a reconstruction bill. It is a human relief bill. In general categories it deals with $301,000,000 for food; $184,000,000 for coal; $35,000,000 for petroleum; $38,000,000 for cotton; $35,000,000 for fertilizers, pesticides, and seed; and $4,000,000 for medicine. We do not here pass upon the long-range, so-called Marshall plan. That proposal has not as yet even reached our committee. We here deal exclusively with an authorization not to exceed $597,000,000 for interim relief terminating with the first quarter of 1948. Even this is not final because the actual appropriations must still be screened by the Appropriations Committee and then submitted to a final Senate vote.

I readily concede that there are interlocking factors between this interim plan and the ultimate long-range plan. There is a common consideration inherent in each. In each there is a common challenge if what we call western civilization is to survive in a decent, democratic world. One is to some extent the lengthened shadow of the other. The immediate interim problem cannot be considered in a vacuum. Our committee recognized this fact, and took sufficient testimony to establish the general outline of the long-range plan for background purposes. Furthermore, it is entirely true that the interim plan, like the long-range plan, is a plan to meet overall deficits in dollar balances—with the relief items arbitrarily segregated against our credits. Nevertheless, despite their common stem, the two bills are separate, and different. The long-range program will deal with a prospectus for economic recuperation for 16 nations on a contractual self-help basis running down to 1951, when its authors hope to see a re-established western world which will no longer require our aid. It is a complicated formula of tremendous magnitude which will require exhaustive congressional exploration. But the pending proposal is comparatively simple. It is confined to offsets which measure the deficit needs in 3 countries, instead of 16, for just 1 ominous winter instead of 4 years. These needs press upon free sectors of the world where bare existence, to say nothing of free institutions, may be an early casualty without our aid. It furnishes food, fuel, fertilizer, cotton, petroleum, pesticides, seeds, and medicines. It involves elemental human survival in a free society. It is an appeal which would be valid without reference to any subsequent undertakings. It is, however, completely indispensable if there are to be any of these subsequent undertakings.

This is what I am trying to say, Mr. President. Senators inevitably will be thinking of both short- and long-range plans in this debate. But Senators can support the short-range, emergency plan without any commitment in respect to subsequent attitudes. I am not for an instant minimizing the dreadful importance of the ultimate decision. But I am saying that it would be entirely understandable why a Senator might hesitate to take any action today which would be construed as committing him to subsequent decisions which he is not yet prepared to make and which he ought not to make without far more information than he has at the moment. It is for this reason that the following colloquy may be found in the committee hearings:

> Senator VANDENBERG. It is my conception that a Member of Congress can support this interim program on the basis of bare human need for a winter crisis without any commitment whatever to support the long-range program. In other words, what he does is to give himself an option upon sufficient time to adequately investigate the long-range program.
>
> Under Secretary LOVETT. That is absolutely correct.

Now, Mr. President, whence come these immediate needs? I shall not burden the Senate with all the detailed figures which are completely available in the documents which have been furnished to all Senators. I particularly refer to the State Department's so-called blue book and the Senate committee's digest of all the relevant papers relating to this problem. I say, in general, that the problem is to keep the people of Italy, France, and Austria alive and free this winter.

The deterioration which has been occurring in the position of European countries regarding the means available to them to procure essential imports has reached an acute stage in the case of France, Italy, and Austria. The evidence indicates that these countries have practically exhausted all of their available means for paying for the essential imports which they need to feed and clothe their

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people and to prevent an immediate and drastic reduction in agricultural and industrial activities, with consequent unemployment and internal instability.

The financial position of these countries has been affected by the following factors:

(a) Severe losses in agricultural products, particularly grain, due to last winter's freeze and the past summer's drought. These losses can be made up only by imports of grain from abroad far exceeding normal import requirements;

(b) The general retardation of European production resulting from shortages of food, coal, consumers' goods, and industrial supplies. This has seriously limited exports to the dollar area and thereby restricted the availability of dollars for these countries;

(c) The higher costs of essential imports caused by rise in prices, particularly in the United States; and

(d) The effects of the unexpected inconvertibility of sterling. France and Italy had counted upon conversion of sterling holdings into dollars for imports of essential commodities.

The current assets of Austria are negligible and her essential imports at the present time are being supplied principally through the United States foreign-relief program.

France and Italy have acted forthrightly in scaling down the level of dollar expenditures by taking all feasible measures to eliminate supplies which are not absolutely essential. In June, 1947, Italy stopped making governmental purchases of all commodities except cereals, coal, and petroleum products. France took action late in August in stopping the placement of all new dollar contracts, except those for cereal, coal, and petroleum products. Indications are that before the end of December, France will have no funds even to buy food and fuel. In the case of Italy, funds will be needed early in December to procure food, fuel, and other essential supplies for shipment in January.

After making allowance for all their available resources, it is estimated that these three countries need a total of $597,000,000 for the period ending March 31, 1948, as follows:

Austria	$ 42,000,000
France	$328,000,000
Italy	227,000,000
Total	597

In meeting these necessities, Mr. President, I have said we must be realists. We have already been prodigal in previous postwar aid, which, unfortunately, seems often to have missed its mark and defaulted in its purpose. The average American citizen is tired of this sterile process. I am sure he still has vision, and that he understands "where there is no vision the people perish." I am sure he has not forgotten why we fought two wars. But he is fed up on expensive failures. He has a right to ask how these new plans differ from the old and why there is greater promise of success. I want to discuss this with him.

There can never be any guaranties of success in the affairs of nations. All life is the sum total of uncertainties. But, in my opinion, there has been more prudent and exhaustive preparation for these new programs than ever before. I think our administrators have learned their lessons from previous mistakes. I think we are getting down to business. Our committee has seen enough of the long-range plan to know that it is to be constantly and continuously geared abroad to cooperative results in self-help programs which can make western Europe stable and autonomous again. It will be proposed that our aid shall constantly be contingent upon satisfactory progress in these directions. All this we shall explore in detail later. But similarly, in the case of the interim plan now before us, I want to identify some of the reasons why I am urging its right to our confidence and support.

SCREENING

I have already referred to the amazing documentation which is available on every point involved. I now refer to the scrupulous screening which has been given the cost estimates. We have not simply invited these three hard-pressed countries to ask us what they want and to come and get whatever they please—as seems to be the suspicion in some quarters. On the contrary, their requests have been carefully studied by every available device. The final figures are not theirs. The final figures are ours. They are cut to the bone.

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They represent a minimum basis of rock-bottom subsistence and survival in the kind of a world we want to save for our own sakes. France asked for $459,000,000. She was cut $131,000,000. Italy asked for $575,000,000. She was cut $348,000,000. Austria asked for $85,000,000. She was cut $43,000,000. Such ultimate figures are not the work of star-gazers. They are the work of realists. They will still be subject to further review when the actual appropriation is submitted.

But that is not all. Every relief commodity will be paid for in the local currency of the beneficiary country and these funds will be trusteed in each country for whatever relief expenditures we can make in those local currencies or for other relief or rehabilitation enterprises in each country consistent with these recovery objectives, subject to our approval. Thus our aid does not become a windfall to release the budgets of these countries from the impact of these expenditures. It becomes what it purports and is intended to be, namely, the provision of food, fuel, and fertilizer, pesticides, seeds, and medicines which are only available for dollars which these countries do not possess and which they cannot get. This again is realism, I submit. It is not blind charity. It is humane and purposeful because it proposes to alleviate conditions of intolerable hunger and cold—I am quoting from the bill—and prevent serious economic retrogression which would jeopardize any general European economic recovery program based on self-help and cooperation. But it builds on a business basis.

Before any commodities or funds are made available—I am still discussing the specific short-range program here pending for present action—each beneficiary country must enter into a bilateral agreement with us for the faithful performance of its reciprocal obligations including an obligation "to give full and continuous publicity * * * as to the purpose, source, character, and amounts of the commodities made available by the United States." We are not repeating UNRRA's mistakes. The President is ordered to "promptly terminate the provision of assistance whenever he finds that any country is not adhering to the terms of its agreement." The formula is down to hard-pan.

Let me point to some of the other specifications in the bill as reported by the committee.

We recognize the fact that no irrevocably firm commitments are possible if we have due regard for our own economy and if we are to avoid pledges which it would be unwise or impossible to complete. The pending bill says:

> This act shall not imply any obligation to give assistance to any of the countries mentioned nor shall it imply or guarantee the availability of any specific commodities.

In other words, we again are being realists. We are frankly recognizing the contingencies in the situation and protecting against them in advance. For example, there is only one point at which the figures of the Department of Agriculture collide with the figures of the Department of State and with the figures of the Herter committee of the House, namely, the availability of sufficient wheat to meet the Italian allocation. If wheat is insufficient, the Secretary of Agriculture points out that adequate and ample substitutes are available. This language permits the substitution.

POWER OF PRESIDENT

We recognize that many other contingencies effect events in these tinder areas of western Europe. Therefore we must reserve other latitudes. Under the terms of this bill the President can promptly terminate this relief whenever he finds, by reason of changed conditions, that assistance is no longer necessary or desirable. This is no strait-jacket which we recommend.

The original proposal left the President wide-open option to administer this relief to suit himself. The amended bill denies any such open-ended Presidential prerogative. It requires that, "in accordance with the direction of the President," which certainly is appropriate, the responsibility for administering in Europe the program of assistance shall be vested in the field administrator of the United States foreign relief program appointed pursuant to the act of May 31, 1947. Thus, there is a warrant against any new or duplicating set-up. The present field administration of the post-UNRRA relief was approved by the Senate. By the testimony of all who have been in a position to get the facts, it is doing a notably efficient job. It has escaped from the

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mistakes of UNRRA in large degree. It will carry on in this new adventure.

There are numerous other protections in the bill. They speak for themselves. They represent the work of realists who do not propose that the errors of yesterday shall persist today and tomorrow.

INFLATION

As for the impact of this short-term relief program on our domestic economy—on prices and inflation—I want to be equally candid. Any exports of commodities in short supply will have some effect upon domestic prices. But the exports here concerned are relatively inconsequential in size and cannot become a major influence. Indeed, Secretary Harriman testified that our net export balance—meaning the over-all measure in dollars of the net drain of our goods and services going into foreign trade—has been receding since the second quarter of 1947 and seems unlikely to present larger pressures on our economy as a result of this interim foreign aid.

With continuing frankness, I am forced to say that I regret that the President saw fit to tie this interim aid program into his anti-inflation message. It could invite an erroneous public reaction. It may have seemed to imply that the interim aid program necessitates his discussion of inflation. That would not be true. I agree that there is vital need to intelligently fight inflation. I agree that the subject urgently requires congressional attention. I agree that it is an important element of consideration in respect to any long-range, four-year relief program which may be subsequently submitted. There are many other far more important elements, but this is neither the time nor the place to pursue them in respect to that problem. This pending bill, however, is not one of them in any significant degree.

Certainly we must be eternally vigilant in respect to conditions on the home front. We could ruin the world quicker by ruining America, as prayerfully prophesied from Moscow, than in any other way. But I revert for just an instant to my opening theme to say that it would be folly not to take judicial notice of the total regimentation which would be necessary in the United States to save our economic system if we ever find ourselves economically isolated in a Communist world. We must keep our feet upon the ground. But we must keep our eyes on the horizons.

I revert to the text of the pending bill just once more to say that, as realists, we recognize the changed inflationary conditions in the United States since the last relief bill was passed. Then we were seeking maximum domestic expenditure of the relief funds and required that not more than 6 per cent of them should be spent abroad. Now our anxiety is to relieve these domestic pressures. Therefore the ceiling is raised from 6 to 25 per cent and, in addition, a directive requires all petroleum under the program, so far as practicable, to be procured elsewhere.

I regret that the bill does not include interim aid for China. I think it should. But there seems to be no practical way in which this can be initiated by Congress. It will be heartening, however, to note that China will be included in subsequent plans which the State Department is developing. The stabilities of Germany and the Far East are indispensable to a sound, free, world economy—and time is running out.

One other comment: Neither this program nor its contemplated successor, Mr. President, is a declaration of economic war between western and eastern Europe, unless Moscow persists in its apparent pathetically mistaken purpose to make it such—to its own everlasting detriment. There is grievous need for the restoration of East-West trade and friendship in a "live and let live" world. Nothing projected in our short- or long-range plans will interfere—except on Soviet initiative. The only thing involved is mutual self-help and cooperation between war-scarred nations, staggering under the burdens of postwar disaster, determined to recuperate in the pattern of freedom, and turning to a friendly United States for aid in the achievement of a purpose which is almost as important to us as it is to them.

Mr. President, I think this bill should promptly pass. I think it is pertinent, as a final word in its behalf, to draw one last analogy in respect to the problem which here confronts us. We have been witnessing a dramatically significant coincidence in the life

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of the nation these recent days. Two special railroad trains have been steaming across the broad expanse of our great and precious America. One is the Freedom Train. The other is the Friendship Train.

The Freedom Train, Mr. President, reminds our people that their heritage stems from liberty under law; that their richest blessing is a Constitution and a Bill of Rights which protect the spiritual dignity of man and the independence of the citizen; and that there are no values in life which could compensate us for the loss of these democratic privileges.

The Friendship Train, Mr. President, exemplifies the devotion of our people to the humanities which make most of the world akin; demonstrates our instinct, our tradition, and our impulse to feed the hungry and to heal the sick; and personifies the friendliness which is the genius of a lasting peace.

Mr. President, in my view this bill is both a Freedom Train and a Friendship Train when it reaches those for whom these benedictions are intended. I hope that Senators will choose to ride.

* * *

COMMITMENT

Mr. BALL, Republican, of Minnesota. In his address the Senator from Michigan emphasized the fact that voting for this interim relief bill—and I think all of us feel we must do something to relieve the situation in Europe—would not commit any Senator, and certainly would not mean that he had passed judgment on the long-range plan, the so-called Marshall plan, or the economic recovery program for Europe, whatever it is called. But I call the Senator's attention to the last phrase in section 2 of the bill, in which it is stated that one of the purposes of the bill is "to alleviate conditions of intolerable hunger and cold and prevent serious economic retrogression."

I do not think anybody can quarrel with that. But then the section goes on to say, "which would jeopardize any general European economic recovery program based on self-help and cooperation." It speaks of "any general European economic recovery program." It seems to me that that is an implied commitment. Certainly if I were in the government of one of these countries in Europe I would say that the passage of the pending legislation with that language in it pretty thoroughly committed the United States Congress to go ahead with the general recovery program, whereas, as the Senator has said, what we are doing with this bill is buying time really to study the longer-range program.

Mr. VANDENBERG. My comment on what the Senator has said is simply this. The language the Senator has read in section 2 is a statement of fact. Of course it is a fact, an indisputable fact, that except as the winter crisis is alleviated there is no chance subsequently to consider any sort of a general economic recovery program in Europe on a basis of self-help and cooperation or any other basis.

I would think that if that is a commitment, it is only a commitment to a reality which no one can deny. I would not think it was any sort of a commitment of the sort the Senator suggests, and if in my position as chairman of the committee handling this legislation my interpretation has any authority whatever, I reiterate that the Under-Secretary of State himself, in the colloquy with me in the hearings, has agreed that he will not consider that any affirmative vote on the pending bill contains any commitment or implication whatsoever, and I reassert that as my own interpretation.

Mr. BALL. Can the Senator tell us of any action which the President and the State Department cannot take under this bill if we place a period after the words "prevent serious economic retrogression," and strike out the rest, indicating that that is all the bill is going to do?

Mr. VANDENBERG. No; this whole section is just a speech.

Mr. BALL. Well, it states a broad purpose, after all.

Mr. VANDENBERG. It is a pretty good speech.

Mr. BALL. And then sections 3 and 4 provide for authorization of appropriation of money to be spent for this purpose. But this is no initial installment of the Marshall plan.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Quite the contrary.

Mr. BALL. This is simply to prevent economic retrogression?

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Mr. VANDENBERG. That is entirely correct.

Mr. BALL. Why could not the language stop there?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator can stop there if he wishes. If the rest of the truth annoys him, why, it can be deleted.

Mr. BALL. In section 3, line 7, the President is authorized to carry out these purposes "by making funds available to the government of a recipient country." I have not yet had time to read all through the hearings. Is there any testimony as to just why that language must be in the bill?

Mr. VANDENBERG. My impression is that that is the same language that is in the present relief act. I would have to check on that. What is the point the Senator makes?

Mr. BALL. I just wonder if it is necessary. In view of our own tight economy in many of the items which are proposed to be shipped overseas, rather than providing funds to other countries to buy them from us, thus competing with those who wish to buy them in our own country, should not all this purchasing be done by the United States Government?

Mr. VANDENBERG. It is my understanding that insofar as it is practicable—and that covers most of the program—the purchasing is controlled by the Government of the United States, and the item is followed by the Government of the United States, not only from the moment of its purchase down through its delivery, but even into the hands of the final beneficiaries.

Mr. BALL. Where is that authorization to be used? That is what bothers me. I feel, as I think the Senator does, that the purchases, certainly those made in this country, and probably any purchases made abroad, should be made by the United States Government, so that it all will be one coordinated program.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That would be the precise fashion in which I would anticipate the program would operate, and I think the precise fashion in which the existing relief law is operated. I think this language deals with a bilateral situation, because the basis of the relationship is a bilateral contract made between the two governments, and it is in that sense, I would think, that the word "government" is used in this part of the bill.

Herblock in *The Washington Post*

"'Now, if You'd Like to See Something In a Larger Book—'"

Mr. BALL. Actually, though, what the Senator calls a bilateral contract provides for the delivery of certain amounts of certain commodities rather than of money.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Bearing on the Senator's question further, I read from page 36 of the State Department's Blue Book, as follows:

> It is proposed that, upon passage of enabling legislation and appropriation of funds to the President for interim aid, the President authorize the Secretary of State to control the allocation of funds to carry out the program as has been done in the case of the United States foreign relief program. These operations could then be integrated into the existing organization responsible for carrying out the relief assistance program. The increased burden placed on the organization will not be considerable, in view of the fact that France is the only country added to present operations.
>
> Two methods of providing for the procurement and shipment of supplies would be used. Wherever it seems feasible, particularly in the cases of commodities in short supply where unified procurement is advisable, allocations would be made to the Department of Agriculture (Commodity Credit Corporation), the War Department, or the Bureau of Federal Supply in the Treasury Department, which would then enter into procurement contracts. To the extent necessary they

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would also contract for shipment of the supplies. Supplies would then be transferred to the receiving government, to be utilized by it in accordance with general understandings contained in an agreement with the country.

* * *

Mr. LUCAS, Democrat, of Illinois. In the examination of any program of aid to Europe, it seems to me, Mr. President, that it is of the utmost importance that we give consideration to the necessity of seeing to it that Europe is adequately informed of the American purposes. I now direct the Senator's attention to paragraph (c) of section 6 of the bill, which is to be found on page 5. It provides as follows:

(c) To give full and continuous publicity within such country, so as to inform the ultimate consumers, as to the purpose, source, character, and amounts of commodities made available by the United States under this act.

I now read the report submitted by the Committee on Foreign Relations, which is as follows:

The committee was of the opinion that full information about the program should be disseminated with the assistance of the recipient government. Such assistance should include time over government-controlled radios, the allocation of adequate space in the newspapers, and such other facilities as will give to the people of the recipient countries a true description of American assistance with a view to avoiding misrepresentation of the motives and acts of the people of the United States in furnishing the assistance in question.

My question is: Under the bill, will the terms and conditions as set forth in the committee report be carried out by our Government, or will the bill stand as it is—which seems to me to be not entirely adequate for our own protection from the standpoint of disseminating the proper information about the source, character, and purpose of all we are attempting to do in aiding Europe.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am sure the Senator has in mind the fact that we are to make with each country bilateral agreements which will contain the details of their obligations.

It remains to be seen whether an obligation can be written into those bilateral agreements covering Government-controlled radios. I would rather think perhaps it can. But of course we could not demand a contractual promise to allocate adequate space in the newspapers, because that would be entirely beyond the control of the Government, except as it exercised an authority which under similar circumstances we would not tolerate for an instant under our theory of a free press. So my general answer to the question is that I would hope the bilateral agreements would undertake to be as specific as possible in arriving at the result which I agree with the Senator from Illinois is highly essential. I doubt whether it is possible to spell it out in the language of the bill.

* * *

Mr. SMITH, Republican, of New Jersey. As the Senator from Michigan has said, at the hearings I raised the question why some of the funds which are to be received by us in foreign currency should not be used by us to develop the type of information referred to. I do not think we were absolutely turned down, but the suggestion was made that the accumulation of those funds might cause certain currency difficulties in the foreign countries, and the matter would have to be handled in connection with the governments themselves.

The point also was raised that we would not want to impose conditions in a form which might in a sense poison the gift we are making. We also do not wish to try to paint a grandiose picture of the great generosity of America when what we are doing is done from different motives. I think it will be possible to work out, possibly using some of these funds, a Voice of America program, which is absolutely vital if we are to enter upon the Marshall Plan.

* * *

Mr. WHERRY, Republican, of Nebraska. So that the Members of the Senate may be advised, I ask this question: Then there could be legislation offered authorizing appropriations to the extent of $1,200,000,000, if the long-range program were not adopted, and that $1,200,000,000 would be used to take care of the needs of not only Europe but Asia also between now and the end of the fiscal year 1948?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think the Members of the Senate not only may be asked for such an amount, but I think it is almost inevi-

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table that they will be asked for it, because I do not know how we can escape the $500,000,000 which the Army will require for Germany and Korea.

Mr. WHERRY. So that in the consideration of the proposed appropriation of $597,000,000 the Members of the Senate really should have in mind not only the long-range program, which the Senator says is distinct and separate, but also the commitments which will have to be made regardless of whether the long-range program is adopted or not?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Most emphatically.

Mr. WHERRY. To the extent of $1,200,000,000?

Mr. VANDENBERG. And it would be a very imprudent Senate which did not survey the whole picture.

DOMESTIC ECONOMY

Mr. WHERRY. Is it the Senator's opinion that in the event that happens there will be a more severe impact upon the domestic economy than that which was discussed today in his speech relative to the $500,000,000?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Well, I think the Senator's opinion on that point would be as good as mine. The size and character of the impact is relative in degree. Regardless of the impact, I know of no way in which we can escape the increased military appropriation.

Mr. WHERRY. Will the Senator indulge me for a further question?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes.

Mr. WHERRY. I read the hearings of the committee yesterday. I read the committee report. I have tried to read all the matter which the Senator from Michigan has suggested the Members of the Senate read. I cannot find anywhere any testimony, except, I think, a short statement by Secretary Harriman, relative to the severity of the impact resulting from the proposals for relief and what might happen relative to controls. Now, I ask the distinguished Senator a question which he can either answer as chairman of the committee or personally, or decline to answer, because I am not sure that the question should be asked of the Senator. Is it the Senator's opinion, as chairman of the committee, and has any evidence been adduced to show, that if the legislation providing for $597,000,000 were enacted, or if legislation providing for the appropriation of $1,200,000,000 were enacted, or even if the long-range program were adopted, the severity of the impact under either one of those programs would be such as to involve the enactment of controls?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator will have to realize that he has asked me really to look into a crystal ball.

Mr. WHERRY. Such a suggestion, however, appears in the President's message.

Mr. VANDENBERG. However, I am perfectly willing to look into the crystal ball as far as I can see, which is not far. The reason why there is no substantial body of testimony in the record regarding the domestic economic impact of the short-range plan is that all the investigations of the Harriman committee, the Krug committee, and the Nourse committee, deal with the long-range plan. Therefore, the best we could get out of the witnesses presenting the reports was a pretty sketchy opinion respecting the impact of the short-range plan. But I believe all of them, if my memory serves me correctly—and by all of them I mean Secretary Harriman, Assistant Secretary Warne, of the Interior Department, speaking for Secretary Krug, and Secretary Anderson, speaking for Agriculture—agreed that the impact of the pending short-range plan is relatively inconsequential, and I think the most either of them ever said would be required, if anything were required as a result of the impact, would be export controls, and perhaps some sort of domestic allocation. I think the Senator will find also in the testimony a categorical denial that there is anything in the interim short-range plan which by any stretch of the imagination could require price controls or rationing.

Mr. WHERRY. Does the Senator mean at the consumer level?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct.

Mr. WHERRY. Do the allocations which the Senator mentioned, and with respect to which he referred to testimony adduced, refer to point 5 of the President's message relative to livestock?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I cannot give the Senator a bill of particulars. My impression is

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that the reference to allocations, when made by Mr. Harriman and Assistant Secretary Warne, had more to do with perhaps the basic need for steel or something of that character. I think the best thing I can do is to let the Secretary speak for himself.

Mr. WHERRY. Is that in the record?

Mr. VANDENBERG. It is not in the printed record, because the Secretary's testimony came too late to be included, in view of the fact that the Printing Office was not operating Saturday and Sunday.

I now read from Secretary Anderson's testimony in response to a question relating to crops in connection with interim relief. I read from page 48 of the transcript for November 18:

> I would say that they—

He is referring to Members of Congress who vote for interim aid—

ANDERSON TESTIMONY

> are not voting themselves into controls except as it relates to allocations and set-asides. It seems to me that this interim aid program is not, on the food front, so greatly in excess of what we had normally planned to ship, and would ship, to these countries. The most it would do would be to require us to use some allocation powers, and maybe some set-aside powers, in those fields where grain became somewhat scarce next spring as a possible result of the publication of an unfavorable crop report.

That is the end of that particular quotation. Later Secretary Anderson agreed generally that the aid proposal would not, by itself, be responsible for the necessity of any further controls. On page 58 he was asked the following question:

> You do not think it calls for any price controls in foodstuffs? That is my question.
>
> Secretary ANDERSON. I do not. But I say to you, as I tried to say a minute ago, that the publication of an extremely adverse crop report might change all of our calculations, but that would not be a direct result of interim aid.

Mr. WHERRY. Is there any place in the testimony of Secretary Anderson or of anyone else who testified, where there is a definition of what the supposed allocations and set-asides might be with reference to agriculture? At the moment I am not interested in steel.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not think so.

Mr. WHERRY. Did anyone ask the Secretary what the proposed program might be so far as allocations are concerned?

Mr. THYE, Republican, of Minnesota. I heard the Secretary make the statement just read by the senior Senator from Michigan. The situation now depends upon the condition of the winter wheat crop in the Southwest. We have had excellent rains in the past week or 10 days. Should there be additional moisture in that area, we might have a crop which would insure sufficient grain to carry us through. That is a question which no one can answer until we go through the season and determine what the winter wheat crop will be.

Mr. WHERRY. So long as the Senator has taken a part in this colloquy, I should like to ask him a question. What I am trying to find out is not whether the crop will be greater than the estimate, but whether the Secretary of Agriculture or anyone else defined what was meant by allocations and set-asides. What is the proposed control to be, in the event it comes? Is there any evidence in the hearings which shows what would be suggested in the event that controls were to be imposed? I am interested primarily in agriculture. The statement which was read indicates not that the interim aid would be responsible for the controls, but that eventualities beyond control might cause the administration, through the proper authorities, to impose controls. I am interested in knowing whether there was any evidence as to what allocations or controls would be used in the event the President desired to control agriculture.

Mr. VANDENBERG. To repeat, my answer to the Senator is that the subject was not pursued in detail by the committee. The impact which the Secretary's testimony made on me—and I think on the other members of the committee—was that no sort of control will be primarily necessitated by the thing which is proposed here. The Secretary constantly referred to the effect of the publication of an adverse crop report on wheat, and referred rather slantingly to allocations and set-asides in connection with what might happen as a result of such a report. But at no point was he discussing—or so it seemed to me—what he considered to be any sort of necessity for new controls of any nature

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arising from the interim arrangement, except export controls.

Mr. WHERRY. I want the Senator to know that I am just as much interested as anyone else in seeing that people who are starving and hungry are fed. I voted for the relief bill. But, as I understand, the food we send to France and Italy is literally sold to those governments and paid for in their currency, the money being placed in a revolving fund. After the Government buys the food, where does it go, and what assurance can the Senator give to the Senate that it actually gets down to the level of the ones who are hungry and need to be fed? What assurance is there that those persons will get it? The Senator well knows that the Secretary of State said that the same agencies would be used in this relief as under the general relief act.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Somewhere in the miasma of papers before me I have specifications regarding the way in which Mr. Allen's organization works, and I have been trying to put my hand on it.

Mr. WHERRY. That is the organization which is now distributing post-UNRRA relief?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct. I think the Senator will agree with me, from anything which he himself has seen or heard in Europe or from reports from other Senators who have come home, that the administration of Mr. Allen's responsibilities has been very substantially satisfactory, relatively speaking.

Mr. WHERRY. If the distinguished Senator will bear with me, it is my opinion that things have not changed very much over there, and that is why I think that if any further safeguards can be written into the bill which will make possible better distribution, it might be helpful. Let us consider wheat. After it is sent over, the allocation is made, and the money is put up, then it is certified to, and the money is paid out of the loan. As I understand, under the present plan the wheat is sold to the millers and they distribute it to the wholesalers, it goes down through the retail channels, and finally gets to the consumer, who pays for it under a ration card and an alleged price ceiling. He is given that card either by the one who has charge in the municipality or in the rural district.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think that is substantially the system.

Mr. WHERRY. I should like to read the distinguished Senator from a report which was handed me, prepared by the staff of the Appropriations Committee. Under the heading of "Appraisal of the agricultural situation in France and interim aid requirements," figures are given showing commodities to be supplied to France during the period from December 1, 1947, to March 31, 1948, expressed in terms of millions of dollars.

Here is a point which I should like to raise in the mind of the Senator, for one purpose only, that is, whether any safeguards can be written into the bill.

BLACK MARKETS

I read from the report to which I have referred, as follows:

> French agricultural recovery has been hampered by the exceptionally poor wheat harvest in 1947, which is expected to reduce food production in 1947-48 to about 80 per cent of the prewar average; the inability to enforce agricultural and food controls effectively—

When I was in France it certainly was ineffective. That has been within the past 10 months.

> With the black market—

Mr. VANDENBERG. We did not have much luck here, either.

Mr. WHERRY. We should have some guarantee that the people who are hungry will receive the food.

I did not finish reading. The report continues:

> With the black market and the illegal feeding of food grains to livestock reducing the amounts available for rationed distribution; the shortage of labor and of work stock.

There is quite a difference between the food going in the ordinary way and that going on the Friendship Train. There is a lot of difference, I think, in distributing the food to the millers who in turn sell it, I suppose that is about the way it will have to be done in order to continue those political societies, which I am not going to quarrel with because

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if the purpose is to keep them going that is probably the only way to do it.

There is a difference between that system, and filtering the food down through the different channels of trade, if we do not have closer supervision than we have had. If we are going to distribute food according to that system, what assurance have we that those who need the food will receive it? If the Senator can write any safeguards into the bill such as have already been written in the Relief Act, that is what should be done in this interim-relief bill or any other relief bill with reference to any countries other than France and Italy.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Now may I answer the Senator?

Mr. WHERRY. Certainly.

Mr. VANDENBERG. My answer will be very brief. If the Senator can devise any language which would amplify the protections which we have tried to write into the bill, I should be delighted to consider them, because I agree fundamentally with his point of view that we wish to pursue the protections to the last practicable degree.

Mr. WHERRY. Yes.

Mr. VANDENBERG. In regard to the question of guaranties, I remind the Senator that when I began to speak this afternoon I specifically said that there are no guaranties that can possibly be made in respect to enterprises of this nature, either at home or abroad, and that all we can do is do the best we can.

Mr. WHERRY. So if price ceilings are ignored and if black markets flourish in France, and if price ceilings cannot be enforced or black markets prevented there, what will be done?

Mr. LODGE, Republican, of Massachusetts. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I am glad to yield.

Mr. LODGE. I think there are three paragraphs in the bill which bear on that point.

Mr. WHERRY. Does the Senator refer to the withdrawal of aid?

Mr. LODGE. That would be one of them. Of course that is the underlying power behind everything.

Mr. WHERRY. Certainly. But once we make a commitment, we have a moral obligation to keep it or carry it out. Would not it be worse for us to make the commitment and then withdraw the aid after we had said we would give it to them? The Senator knows that it would be very difficult to handle the distribution under the method set forth.

Mr. LODGE. I should like to state that section 2 of the bill provides that "it is the purpose of this act to provide immediate assistance to alleviate conditions of intolerable hunger," which, of course, is a condition.

Then we find that on page 5, subsection (e) provides the following:

> (e) to make available to its people at reasonable prices, consistent with economic conditions in the recipient country, such commodities as it may sell under the terms of this act.

I think that is very clear. I believe that if a government violates the provisions of that subsection, we should suspend the aid; and I think that would be an extremely good thing to do, and a thing which would enhance our popularity in the recipient country.

Mr. WHERRY. Directly on that point, let me inquire whether the Senator thinks we can supervise the distribution of this aid any better under any requirements we write into this measure than has already been done by the government in France.

Mr. LODGE. I think we are getting to know more and more about this business every year, and are getting smarter; at least, I hope we are.

* * *

Mr. MILLIKIN, Republican, of Colorado. I should like to take, for example, a boatload of wheat landed in Naples, and trace it to the hungry person we desire to feed. Is there anything in the report giving such information, or can anyone tell us what will happen to the wheat that lands in Naples until it gets into the mouth of the hungry person?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Did the Senator say inside the mouth of the hungry person?

Mr. MILLIKIN. I should like to get it inside the mouth of the hungry person.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not think we have gotten quite that far, but I think that is a fair question, and I should like to have a written reply to that question from the administrators of the bill.

Mr. MILLIKIN. That is a very important question. That is the one concern and the only concern in the minds of the American

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people, that the food shall get into the mouths of the hungry people, and that it will not be a gravy train for the black marketeers.

Mr. VANDENBERG. If the Senator thinks there should be any guaranties written from Washington against gravy trains for black marketeers 5,000 miles from home, I suggest to him that we look at our own experiment in that aspect and see to whom we might turn to show us how to achieve this ideal purpose right here under our own roof.

* * *

SHIPPING

Mr. MAGNUSON, Democrat, of Washington. The committee saw fit to include section 5 in the bill, which gives some measure of protection, it is hoped, to the American economy. In other words, at least 75 per cent of the aid must be purchased in America, and that will help the American economy. I am wondering why the committee did not go further and at least put a protective clause on another segment of American industry which might be aided by this program, namely, the maritime industry, and give it some protection in the same ratio in which aid is now being accorded in relief tonnage as between the recipient countries, so that American bottoms might haul these goods in the same ratio.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I have no objection to stating categorically my hope and expectation that American bottoms will be used in the transportation of relief commodities to the maximum practicable degree. I do not think it is possible to start writing specific percentages into the bill or specific exceptions in connection with the requirements, because we might defeat our own purposes. In the final analysis our purpose is not to protect the American merchant marine or to protect American petroleum. Our purpose is to help free citizens to remain free during a winter when their starvation might drive them into virtual slavery.

* * *

The Senator from Colorado will recall that he was asking for a typical case of the handling of a typical commodity like wheat, in a typical relief area like Italy, to see what happened to assure its ultimate arrival at the objective to which our effort is dedicated.

Both the Italian Government and the United States Relief Mission in Rome are advised in advance of the sailing and probable arrival dates of all ships carrying United States relief supplies.

Pursuant to the Senator's request, we are starting right at the American shore and following straight through.

The Central Shipping Coordinating Committee of the Italian Government with the participation of a representative of the United States Relief Mission then determines the port at which the cargo is to unload and notifies the ship's master. The several ministries of the Italian Government with the United States Relief Mission participating then work out the distribution plans for each cargo. The cargo is unloaded into rail cars or trucks and transported to a regional internal distribution point which has been agreed upon by the Italian Government and the American mission. From this point the distribution is handled in various ways, depending upon the commodity involved.

Let us discuss foodstuffs particularly, because that is what the Senator from Colorado had in mind.

The High Commissioner of Food, who is an Italian officer, allocates all imported food supplies, but a representative of the United States Relief Mission participates in the allocation program. This commodity has now reached the port, has been distributed internally in Italy, and is ready for ultimate disposal. Distribution and handling is through an agency of the Government, which is an Italian federation of agrarian activities, an arm of the Italian Government. It is called the Federazione Italiana dei Consorzi Agrari. This organization has branches in each province and commune and maintains a staff of regional inspectors and statistical officers who supervise the distribution of the foodstuffs on the basic ration list. United States observers are in constant touch with the local offices of this organization.

We are now getting down to the final point where the real activity begins. We are approaching the mouth of the ultimate consumer, in whom the Senator from Colorado is particularly interested. It is a new portal-to-portal inquiry upon which the Senator has embarked me.

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Upon its arrival at the basic distribution points grain is allocated to the various millers who, after grinding the grain, transmit the flour to bakeries under the approved distribution program. Bakeries then distribute bread to retail stores. The bread is sold to the consumers at the retail levels at prices agreed to between the United States mission and the Italian Government. Grain and other foodstuffs are sold to ration card holders and in quantities and at prices approved by United States representatives. Some foodstuffs are distributed free to indigents through relief agencies and institutions in accordance with agreements between us and the Italian Government.

Bread, flour, pasta, rice, sugar, and fats are subject to national rationing. United States supplies are mixed with locally collected supplies at mills and warehouses and both are distributed in the same manner as indicated above.

The Italian Government requires compulsory collection and nation-wide control of breadgrains, rice, olive oil, animal fats, and sugar beets. Meats, cheese, potatoes, fruits, and vegetables are not subject to compulsory collection or to rationing.

The distribution of relief supplies, at all these stages, including the sale to the ultimate consumer under the rationing system, is subjected to continuous check by United States observers, to determine as far as possible that the commodities are reaching the Italian people in accordance with the terms of the relief bill and the agreement between the two governments.

* * *

MALONE AMENDMENTS

Mr. MALONE, Republican, of Nevada. Mr. President, Senate bill 1774, now before the Senate, provides, in the main, as did other relief measures such as the UNRRA Act, that goods and other materials shall be given to recipient governments, and that those governments may sell the goods and receive money for them, the money presumably going into a revolving fund, but actually utilized for the benefit of the governments or groups currently in power, with such goods going direct into the market only available to such people who have the funds to purchase them.

We have all observed revolving funds among foreign governments. For example, Tito, of Yugoslavia, financed an army through his revolving fund by selling goods furnished by UNRRA; and we now know where Tito stands. The Senators joining me in presenting this amendment think we should close at least the obvious loopholes in the bill which now allow governments to continue to abuse the privileges gained through relief from the United States. When the recipient governments are allowed to sell the goods, they immediately go on the market and are available only to people having the money to purchase such goods. They are not given to the hungry people who need them which should be the objective of any such legislation. In Greece I picked up an armful of canned fruit, meats, and vegetables, made in California, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and other sections of this country. Those goods were on the open market. In the Athens market, for example, the merchants are selling the goods over an area 8 or 10 blocks long. The prices are not exorbitant in terms of our wages but they are exorbitant in terms of the wages paid in those countries. Wages in Greece ran between 8,000 and 10,000 or 12,000 *drachmas* a day. Eighty-five hundred *drachmas* is equivalent to approximately 80 cents. Those who are supporting families on that amount of money are not buying canned goods. In Greece if one has plenty of money he can live well; the goods are there. If he has no money he has nothing to eat, since nothing is given away—it is sold.

This is not the time or place to criticize any prior legislation or methods of distribution, but it is the time and place to profit by past errors and mistakes.

Our amendment provides, first, that the recipient governments may not sell the goods; also that they may not sell and export goods of the same character from their own country while the shortage or need exists. We would not furnish money or credit, but would furnish the goods themselves. We would purchase the goods, either in our own country or in other countries when they are available, and place them in the hands of the recipient governments so that they could be distributed free of charge to the people, in order that hungry people might actually receive food.

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I should like to explain the proposed changes embodied in the amendment: On page 2, lines 7 and 8, we propose to strike out "or by making funds available to the government of a recipient country." That would simply prohibit making any funds available as such to any country. We would purchase the goods wherever they might be available. Under the terms of this amendment, instead of furnishing funds, we would simply make the goods available.

The next amendment is on page 3, in section 4. In line 2, on page 3, we propose to strike out "$597,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$400,000,000." Many of our people, including, apparently, Members of the House of Representatives, believe that $597,000,000 does not represent the emergency need.

My associates in offering the amendment are the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Bricker], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Kem], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. Williams], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Wilson], the Senator from Montana [Mr Ecton], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Dworshak], and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Jenner]. Our conclusion is that inasmuch as we are to return here on the 2d or 3d of January, the appropriation of a lesser amount might be an additional check on the use of the funds. The amount proposed to be appropriated is supposed to last until March. We shall return here on the 2d or 3d of January. If it then appears that the $400,000,000 is being properly utilized, and that it is insufficient, in a very few minutes we can increase the appropriation. If it is not being properly used, or if $400,000,000 proves to be enough, it will not be necessary to increase the amount.

On page 3, line 25, we proposed to strike out the words "or funds." The language would then read:

> Before any commodities are made available to any recipient country under the authority of section 3 of this act, an agreement shall be entered into—

And so forth. By including the words "or funds" we indicate that we might furnish the money direct, to be expended by the recipient countries, which under our amendment is to be avoided.

On page 4, beginning with line 11, we propose to strike out through and including line 3 on page 5.

* * *

Mr. MALONE. Beginning on line 12, page 5, it is proposed to strike out to and including line 15. That is subparagraph (e) of section 6, which reads as follows:

> (e) to make available to its people at reasonable prices, consistent with economic conditions in the recipient country, such commodities as it may sell under the terms of this act.

We simply strike that subparagraph out in accordance with the language adopted in the beginning, simply deleting any reference to the recipient countries selling any commodities furnished for the relief of hungry people.

On page 5, line 16, strike out subparagraph (f) and insert in lieu thereof "(e)."

On page 5, line 24, strike out "while the need therefor continues."

On page 6, line 1, after the word "or," insert a comma and the following: "while the need therefor continues."

In these last two amendments we simply prohibit any exporting of any commodities furnished the recipient countries by us and also prohibit the export of any goods produced by them of a like nature while the need for such commodities continues, under penalty of stopping the relief.

* * *

AMENDMENTS TO DESTROY BILL

Mr. VANDENBERG. Now, Mr. President, let us see what we are to vote upon en bloc. I think I can say without reservation that the adoption of these amendments, which are being considered en bloc, would completely destroy not only the entire theory upon which this bill is written but the entire basis upon which the post-UNRRA relief organization has been set up and the entire basis upon which it is contemplated to operate in respect to this undertaking.

The first amendment would undertake to strike out the language "making funds available to the government of a recipient country."

I could quite share the feeling of my able friend, the able Senator from Nevada, if that language were to apply to the general distribution which is contemplated under the

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bill. That language is necessary for one specific purpose and one purpose only, and it is in connection with the procurement of supplies which have to be procured by the beneficiary government.

For instance, when offshore purchases are made under the terms of the relief bill the process is very clear. It was outlined in great detail in our hearings. The process is as follows: The Government of the United States passes upon the original requisition of, let us say, the Italian Government. It authorizes the Italian Government to enter the market and undertake to procure the goods. When the Italian Government has procured its offers in response to the specifications they are submitted for approval to the American authorities. When the transaction is completed all the papers are delivered to the American authorities to be checked in every aspect required by the bill, which is a very complete check, and only when the final credit has been approved in all these respects is there any transfer of credit. It is in effect a transfer of credit and not a transfer of funds.

* * *

We now come to the amendment, which I take it from the observations of my able friend from Nevada really goes to the heart and core of his objection, namely, to require that everything under the terms of the bill shall be given away free gratis for nothing. Well, that involves a highly laudable and human point of view, which I would be the last to criticize, but it seems to me it confesses a total failure to understand the nature and character of this operation, because, for instance, when we are relieving hunger and cold and distress in Italy, let us say, during the ensuing three winter months, we are not simply relieving the distress of the indigent; we are relieving the distress of the entire population, because the food and fuel deficit is a total deficit in the economy of the whole country. The only reason we have to furnish the food and fuel is because there are not dollars available to balance the deficit by direct purchases abroad. Therefore, there is no way that it is possible to separate the indigent in the recipient country as the ones who are to be the beneficiaries of our attention. We are serving all the people of Italy, and it is just as important that the middle class in Italy should not starve or freeze as it is that the indigent should not starve and freeze. Yet when we come to the contemplation that we are furnishing food and fuel to the middle class and the upper class as well as the indigent, it seems to me perfectly fantastic to say that we should make a free, unlimited, gratis gift of food and fuel to this total population. I submit that under the correct concept of the bill, it becomes indefensible to talk about requiring that this shall operate on the basis of a total gift.

That is not the only thing involved. We all know that if there is any hope for the economies of Europe, it is on the basis of internal recuperation in the direction of reorganized domestic economy; and that means an attention to sound finances and sound budgets. If all the aid is put upon a charity basis, all burden is eliminated from the local budgets to provide against responsibilities that are inherent in the obligation of any government on earth. A situation is produced in which the gift, the charity, becomes a budgetary windfall to the beneficiary country, and that is one of the precise things which we are seeking to guard against by requiring this deposit of local currency.

I submit, Mr. President, that from whatever standpoint we contemplate the matter, and with the greatest respect for the high motive which I know inspired my friend from Nevada and his associates in making this proposal, I think it is not only completely at variance with the theory of the legislation, but I think it completely collides with basic economic common sense.

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The amendments offered by Mr. Malone for himself and other Senators were rejected.

Authentic news misprint: "The motorist approached the coroner at 60 miles per hour." *Jobber Topics*

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